PAR

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

1962

C. K. Y.
LIB
HARIDWAR

113100

113100

Vol. XL, Part I April, 1962 Serial No. 118

JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY

113100

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,

Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics.
University College, Trivandrum.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (Oxon.)
Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,
formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.

Dr. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.Litt. (Madras) D.Phil. (Oxon.)
Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.

पुस्तकालय,
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

पुस्तकालय गुरुकुल कांगड़ी
4 AUG 1962

CONTENTS

AKBAR AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION—by Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava .. 1

AN INTERESTING STONE INSCRIPTION FROM MENAL (RAJASTHAN)—by K. V. Soundara Rajan .. 9

MULTAN IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES—by Dr. Hameed ud-Din .. 15

PTOLEMY AND WESTERN INDIA—by Dr. B. A. Saletore .. 41

POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE REIGN OF MUHAMMAD-QULI QUTB SHAH—Part II—by Prof. H. K. Sherwani .. 85

THE FIRST SIEGE OF COCHIN BY THE DUTCH AND ITS SEQUEL by T. I. Poonen .. 129

NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji .. 153

A CHATURMUKHA-LINGA FROM SIRPUR, RAIPUR DISTRICT, MADHYA PRADESH—by M. Venkataramayya .. 159

ANTECEDENTS OF THE JAGIRDARS OF AMBAPANI UNDER BHOPAL STATE AND THEIR DECLARATION OF 'JIHAD' DURING THE MUTINY—by Iqbal Kaul .. 179

FRENCH INFLUENCE ON SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE—by M. Arokiaswami .. 191

REVIEWS:—(1) The East India Company 1784-1834 by C. H. Philips; (2) Fort William—India House Correspondence, edited by Bisheswar Prasad; (3) Kalugumalai and Early Pāndyan Rock Cut Shrines by C. Sivaramamurti; (4) Diaries in Ceylon (1908-1911) edited by Leonard Woolf; (5) Elphinstone Correspondence 1804-08 edited by R. M. Sinha; (6) East-Indian Economic Problems of the Age of Cornwallis and Raffles by H. R. C. Wright; (7) Rise of the Marātha Power and other Essays by M. G. Ranade and Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles by K. T. Telang; (8) Chronology of the Bhauma-karas and the Somavamśīs of Orissa by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi; (9) The Harappa Culture and the West by Dr. Heinz Mode; (10) Shaikh Sikandar's Mirātī Sikandiri (Sic) edited by S. C. Misra & M. L. Rahman .. 201

OUR EXCHANGES .. 215

14 AUG 1962

Akbar and National Integration

BY

ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA, M.A., PHD.,
D.LITT. (Luck.), D.LITT. (Agra),

वाचनालय, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

POLITICAL UNITY

Now that a nation-wide attempt is being made to bring about national integration and a variety of schemes are being formulated in that connection, it may be interesting to know what a great monarch of medieval India did to unify the country and the people of his age. The problem before Akbar was much more difficult than the one that the modern leadership in this country has to face. He had first of all to bring about the political and administrative unity of India to which he devoted his entire career as a ruler. A lifetime's unbroken record of military victories and an equally successful diplomacy brought the whole of Northern India and a part of the Deccan to the south of Ahmadnagar under one government which was given an uniform system of administration, one official language, a common currency, and a common imperial service, the members of which were transferred from place to place and helped in maintaining political and administrative unity of the vast empire. Akbar's policy of the unity of India is summed up by Abul Fazl in these words: 'The wise and judicoius who understand the spirit of the age have said that if this civilised world which has been split up owing to the inattention of great souls, were under one able and just ruler of extensive capacity, the dust of dissension would assurdly be laid and mortals find repose. Hence it is that the adorner of fortune's parterre in our age (Akbar) is continually engaged in the conquest of other countries."[1]

---

[1] *Akbarnama*, III, 87. Probably by the 'world' Akbar meant the subcontinent of India.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION AND EQUALITY

Akbar gave a concrete evidence of his extra-ordinary statesmanship by taking a series of bold steps for removing some of the centuries-old basic disabilities from which the Hindus had suffered, such as, the prohibition of prisoners of war (who were invariably forced to embrace Islam) from being converted into slaves (1562), the abolition of Hindu pilgrims' tax (1563), and the remission of jizya (1564). Sometime after this he accorded a complete religious toleration to non-Muslims. "It is my duty," said Akbar, "to be in good understanding with all men. If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them would be reprehensible; and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my compassion."[2] The government now became broad-based, and all discrimination against the Hindus ceased in practice.

REPEAL OF ISLAMIC THEORY OF STATE

But this was not enough in Akbar's eyes, and therefore he took steps to discard the Islamic theory of the state which was the primary cause of discrimination and discord inasmuch as it was based on the principle of Islam as the religion of the State, the non-recognition of other religions, and on the concept of dual citizenship, and had relegated the Hindus, who formed the bulk of the population, to an inferior status in all matters, religious, social, economic and administrative. It was replaced by a new theory of sovereignty that Akbar adpoted, and which, though akin to the theory of divine origin of kings, was secular in conception, and made the king not only the impartial ruler of all his subjects, irrespective of their race and creed, but also their father. "Had I been wise earlier," said Akbar, "I would have taken no women from my own kingdom into my seraglio, for my subjects are to me in the place of children."[3] As a consequence of the change in the very basis of government, it became the emperor's responsibility to provide equal protection to all those who lived in the empire and also to accord liberty of conscience, of worship and of freedom to live their own life without being hampered in any way. And Akbar assumed this responsibility. The conversion of a theocracy that had the sanction of religion and history, as it had been in force for nearly 375 years, into a secular state called for the highest qualities of statesmanship, courage and force of character to enforce it. The foundation of the secular Indian state was Akbar's greatest contribution to the building up of a stable empire and a contented people.

---

[2] *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, (2nd ed.), 430-431.
[3] *Ain.* III, (2nd ed.), 449.

Policy of Social Fusion

Akbar's next equally great, and perhaps more difficult task than political unity, was an attempt at the fusion of the Hindu and Muslim communities and to lay the foundation of a composite Indian community. He started this delicate task in his own seraglio where he accorded freedom to his Rajput queens and their maid-servants to conduct the Hindu worship, such as, the sacred offering to the fire (*hawan*), which is accompanied by the chanting of Veda Mantras and some other religious ceremonies. Next, he himself began observing some of the Hindu customs and ceremonies, such as, appearing at the *Jharokha Darshan,* performing *Tulā Dān* (weighing himself and his sons against various articles), observing *Raksha Bandhan, Dasehra, Diwali, Vasant,* and *Shiva Ratri.* How sincere he was in the observance of these Hindu festivals in their true spirit is clear from the fact that he gave orders to discard off mourning in the evening of the burial of his dearly-loved mother whose death had taken place one day before Dasehra, as he had, according to custom, to hold a ceremonial Darbar on the occasion of that festival, which happened to fall on the next day.[4] Thirdly, he performed the wedding of his sons with Rajput princesses in Hindu fashion, by taking the bride-groom's procession (*bārāt*) to the residence of the bride, and introducing the observance of Hindu as well as Muslim religious ceremonies at it. Fourthly, he introduced the Hindu custom at the mourning of the death of his relatives by shaving his head, beard and moustaches, as he did on his mother's death and that of his chief nurse, Jiji Anaga whom he respected as his mother. This custom was adopted by some notable Musalmans too, like Faizi and Abul Fazl who shaved their heads, beards and moustaches on the death of their father. Probably Azi Koka did the same to mourn his mother's death. Fifthly, he observed the custom of giving a banquet on the occasion of Dasehra and some other Hindu festivals as on the occasions of Barāwafāt and on the two Ids. It is reasonable to infer that notable Hindus as well as Muslims must have been invited to participate in these feasts, though separate arrangements might have been made for them. This was Akbar's method of attempting to draw the Hindus and Mussalmans nearer together. Though this policy worked well during his reign it did not succeed in the long run. Nevertheless Akbar deserves praise for having initiated such a policy and tried to enforce it in right earnest. It may be surmised that if Akbar's successors for a period of 50 to 100 years had been equally sincere and consistent in following in his footsteps something of a fusion of the two major communities in India's population might have taken place during the Mughal age.

---

[4] *A.N.* III, 83; *Eng. Tr.* III, 1245.

Akbar reformed the Indian society, raised the marriageable age of the boys and girls, discouraged polygamy and unwilling *sati*, restricted prostitution and drinking of liquor, and tried to abolish beggary. His reforms were applicable to all sections of the people.

CULTURAL UNITY

With a view to have a common literature for the intelligentsia in Persian, which he made the court language, Akbar encouraged the foremost scholars of his time to produce original works on various subjects in that language. He established a translation department under his personal auspices, and had first-rate works of Sanskrit, Arabic, Turki and Greek translated into Persian and made them available to his courtiers and other officers. The Hindu, Muslim and Christian religious scriptures and also secular works were rendered into Persian so that the various communities could know the best in the religious and secular thought of one another. He reformed the educational system and curricula, introduced in the courses of studies the subjects of common interest, and discarded those that had become obsolete. The practice to establish mixed schools and higher seats of learning, where pupils of both the communities received their education, came into vogue. From this time onward Hindus began to take to the study of Persian and soon rivalled Musalmans in proficiency in that language. At the same time Akbar encouraged Sanskrit learning and Hindi poetry, and his patronage became responsible for the classical age of Hindi literature. Surdas and Tulasidas were the products of this age. But, in keeping with the tradition of his age, he took little interest in the education of the masses, and failed to appreciate the fact that the introduction of a printing press was essential for the spread of education.

ARCHITECTURE

Akbar's next contribution was the successful fusion of the secular Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture into what may be described as the Indo-Muslim architecture which held the field until the impact on it of the modern style of Europe and America. When the first Turkish conquerors came in the 11th century A.D. they found in this country a highly developed architecture of the trabeate style with flat-roofs, corbel brackets, profusely ornamented pillars, stone or brick shades jutting out of the roofs all round, tapering domes, and arches built on the cantilever principle. But they had brought with them their own style of open rectangular buildings of arcuate type, with semi-circular radiating arches, domes like the inverted bells, open kiosks, tall slender turrets, lofty pillars and open courtyards. These two styles, though influencing each other remained separate and aloof for more than 350 years. It was reserved for Akbar the Great to attempt at their fusion in accordance with a well-thought-out plan, which was formed quite early in his reign. The harmonious mingling of the two styles brought about by Akbar is amply illustrated in his buildings in the Agra Fort, at Fatehpur Sikri and in the forts of Lahore and Allahabad. The construction of the Agra Fort was commenced in 1565 under the supervision of his chief engineer Qasim Khan, and three to four thousand skilled masons were employed every day for 15 years. The Jahangiri Mahal out of 500 buildings of the beautiful Bengal and Gujarat styles erected by Akbar inside the fort, though Muslim in its lay-out, is Hindu in design and workmanship. It has flat roofs, and rectangular doors, and is embellished with carved ornamental stone-brackets which support the stone-beams. It has wide eaves and flat ceilings, and its entire composition is so characteristically Hindu that it could hardly be out of place amidsts the buildings in Gwalior, Chittor or Udaipur. Akbar's buildings at Fatehpur Sikri, especially the Diwan-i-Khas, the astrologer's lodge, Mariam's palace, the so-called Jodhbai palace and the Turkish Sultana's palace exhibit a fine blending of Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture. Even the mausoleum of Shaikh Salim Chisti could not remain immune from the effect of this new spirit. The result was a new style which may appropriately be called Indo-Muslim style or the national style of architecture. The monuments erected during his reign fully justify Abul Fazl's remark that "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay." Monserrate is almost of the same opinion and writes: "The splendour of his palaces approaches closely to that of the royal buildings of Europe. They are magnificently built, from foundation to cornice of hewn stone, and are decorated both with painting and carving. Unlike the palaces built by other Indian kings, they are lofty;...... The palaces are decorated also with many pinnacles, supported on four columns, each of which forms a small covered portico."[5]

Akbar encouraged sculpture also, though not of the statuary variety. He had the statues of the heroes of Chittoor, Jaimal and Patta, carved on elephants out of stone and placed at the entrance of the Delhi Gate of the Agra Fort. The Hathi Pole gateway of his palace at Fatehpur Sikri was adorned by two huge elephants in red sand stone. In the palace of Mariam there are stone figures of elephants and other animals in the eaves surrounding the verandah of that building. In the corbel brackets in the fort of Lahore figures of peacocks and other birds and of animals were found in profusion.

PAINTING

Notwithstanding the Quranic injunction against painting of living beings, Akbar from his very early youth showed a liking for the art, and introduced Chinese or Mongolian painting that had found a place at the court of Shah Ismail Safawi of Persia. "There are many," said Akbar, 'that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."[6]

---

[5] *Commentarius*, 199-200.

This was an adroit way of reconciling irreconcilable ideologies. The greatest exponent of this art in Central Asia was Bihzad of Herat and his pupil Agha Miraq of Tabriz. Bihzad had served at the court of Sultan Husain Baiqara, and subsequently entered the service of Shah Ismail Safawi of Persia. He was responsible for refinding the Chinese or Mongolian style of painting and making it essentially Persian. It was in this form that this foreign art of painting was brought to India at Akbar's instance and introduced at court. Khwaja Abdus Samad, who taught Akbar drawing in his boyhood, was commissioned by the young emperor to paint portraits and murals for him. It was here that this art mingled with the style of Indian painting whose tradition had come down from ancient times. The result was a fusion of the two styles under Akbar's direction and patronage. In course of time foreign elements disappeared, and the art became purely Indian. Akbar's patronage attracted the best painters to his court and led to the foundation of a new school of painting, including portraits, scenes in the *harem,* royal darbars, hunting scenes, ladies at toilet, and the pictorial art illustrating magnificently-bound volumes dealing with various subjects, particularly history. To Akbar, therefore, belongs the credit of removing an age-long prejudice, and laying the foundation of what might be described as the Mughal or Indian school of painting. At the same time he encouraged mural painting and the allied art of calligraphy.

MUSIC

Similarly Akbar brought about a renovation of the art of music of which he was very fond since his boyhood. "His Majesty", writes Abul Fazl, "pays much attention to music and is a patron of all who practise this enchanting art".[7] He studied Hindu vocalisation under Lal Kalawant who taught him, "every breathing and sound that pertains to the Hindi (Sanskrit) language." He collected at his court the best musicians of the age, including Tansen, who had been trained in a school established by Raja Man Singh Tomar in Gwalior. The imperial patronage was responsible for a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim systems of music which had mingled freely at his court. In this process of fusion there was naturally give and take, and the classical Hindu music was modified to a certain extent. Nevertheless the gain to the country was immense inasmuch as we came to have one common system of music.

---

[6] *Ain.* I, (2nd ed.), 125.
[7] *Ain,* I, (2nd ed.), 681.

Muslims were formerly averse to taking to music, as it was not commended by orthodox Islam. But on account of the imperial patronage the art became lifted up to a dignity that recalled the ancient Indian age, when it was looked upon as one of the highest forms of culture. Gifted people of all communities consequently came forward to participate in the art, and the newly established school of music at the court not only found new votaries but also royal encouragement and patronage.

ATTEMPT AT ESTABLISHING A COMMON RELIGION

Akbar made a commendable attempt to bring about a synthesis of various religions with a view to banish from India religious discord and narrow fanaticism, once for all. It was motivated by a desire to persuade the people to accept one common religion, which he thought essential in the interest of the solidarity of the empire. But the age was not ripe for such a venture, and the attempt failed, as it was bound to in the 16th century. The world is not prepared for it even in the second half of the twentieth century.

An Interesting Stone Inscription from Menal (Rajasthan)

BY

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, M.A.

The situation of Menal (64 miles from Chitorgarh) and Bijolia (16 miles further from Menal) in the 'Uparamala' tract on the junction between Rajasthan—Malwa and Gujarat, had been well reflected in the impact, in the realm of art and architecture, of the various styles of temple construction from as far away zones as Central India under the sway then of Kalachuris and Yadavas, the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta of Deccan, and the premediaeval styles North Rajasthan. The main contribution of this region on the inscription side, is the Chahamana rock inscription[1] at Bijolia which supplies us with a detailed genealogy of the reigning king Somesvara in the 12th Cent. A.D. and also provides other valuable geographical and cultural data. A guide to the monuments at Menal and Bijolia had already been written by the writer and is awaiting publication by the Archaeological Survey of India shortly. Meanwhile, a few recently discovered stone inscriptions from Menal seem to give some new historical information of the political set up of the times and the spiritual administration of the temples at Menal. One of these inscriptions is noted in this article, as scrutinised by the writer, and the data contained therein are discussed briefly.

The inscription which is in Sanskrit is clearly dated in Samvat 1212. It is engraved on the pedestal (pl. 1) presumably of an image, which is all but lost excepting for the pair of feet of which peculiarly, the anklet is only in one foot. The significance is not apparent. It mentions Chahamana Tilaka Naravarma and his son Meghanāda, and brings in a Rashtrakuta synchronism by mentioning one Rashtrakuta Eravarman, his son Kirtivarman and the latter's grandson though his daughter Lakshmā Devi. Presumably the Rashtrakuta genealogy is orientated towards Meghanada, on his maternal side. The inscription carried originally a sculpture in bold relief or in the round, perhaps of Prince Meghanada, since the inscription refers specifically to this image or 'pratima'. It also gives the name, apparently of a Mahant, of the Mahanala temple administration, Sri Sukhakirti and further specifies the Sutradhara of the installation of this image as one-- Devasimha II, the son (?) of Ubhaya Simha.

---

[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II and Pt. III, No. 9, April-July 1941.

Now, the historical information that we know of at present, makes a Naravarma of the Paramara clan as ruling in Malwa[2] during the time of Jayasimha Siddharaja Solanki of Gujarat (according to the inscription on an image of Talwara[3] in Banswara State datable to the year C. 1135 A.D., wherein he is described as having broke the pride of Naravarman. This Naravarman of Malva is datable between 1094-1133 A.D.), and was the successor of Lakshma Deva of Malva and the predecessor of Yasovarman who succeeded him in 1134 A.D. Naravarman invaded Gujarat and Patan the capital when Siddharaja was a minor and the surrender by Chalukyas there was so abject that Meru Tunga in his Prabhanda Cintamani[4] says that the general Santu in charge of the capital city paid a heavy tribute and 'washed the feet of the Paramara king and poured a handful of water in the hollow of his hands'. This Naravarman was, however, defeated and crushed later, by Siddharaja after 12 years of continuous war between Chalukyas and the Malwa King. This Naravarman is considered as a poet in his own right[5] and patron of arts and built many temples around Nagpur—Bhilsa. But this Naravarman is clearly different from our present Naravarman since he is not a Paramara. Further the former's son was Yasovarman,[6] whereas our Naravarman's son is Rānaka Tribhuvanesvara whose son is Meghanāda. It is intriguing that this Naravarman is calling himself Chāhamānatilaka, although he is only a Mandalika, as mentioned in the inscription itself. Further he is mentioned as Naravarmaka. This Rānaka Tribhuvanesvara appears to have had, as queen, Lakshmādevi who was herself the daughter of Kirtisimha who was the son of Rashtrakuta Yaravarman through Queen Kolha(?). Now we have only a few Lakshmi Devis that we know of, firstly the daughter of the Chāhamana of Naddula[7] and mother of Bhima who came to throne at Patan in 1022 A.D. Another Lakshmi Devi associated with the Rashtrakuta[8] line was the chief queen of Vikramaditya VI, and yet another Lakshmi was the daughter of Rashtrakuta Brahmahabha or Bhammaha or Brahmahara, who married Taila II who was the nephew of Chedi Yuvaraja II. But these Lakshmi Devis do not appear to fit in with the present context, and cannot be the wife of Rānaka Tribhuvanesvara, son of Naravarman and father of Meghanāda. Thus not only the Naravarman mentioned here but also the Lakshmā Devi mentioned here are both new names unknown till now. We note from Bijolia rock inscription of Somesvara that one of the Kings of the Śākhambari Chāhamāna line, namely Chāmunda had a similar title of Rānaka, which is now given in this record to Tribhuvanesvara. We have also the title of Maharanaka held by a Songira (Jalor) Chahamana Udayasimha of the Sirohi line from an inscription of 1283 V. S. from Barlut, District Sirohi.[9] Besides, the term 'Chāhamāna tilaka' for Naravarma also appears to have been purposely assumed by the Mandalika. We also do not have any Meghanāda known to us at present. The only Meghanāda mentioned elsewhere at this period, is God Meghanāda[10] for whom a temple at Somnath was got erected by Bhima II (1178 A.D.) through Bhava Brahaspati, the Guru of Yasovarma, Siddharaja and Kumarapala. But this does not have any bearing upon our Meghanāda, excepting that Meghanāda was a name attributed to Siva and was current in the 12th Cent. A.D.

---

[2] *History of the Paramara Dynasty,* D. C. Ganguli, Dacca, 1933.

[3] *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa,* K. M. Munshi, Pt. III, Bombay, 1944, p. 160.

[4] *Prabhandha Cintamani,* 58.

[5] *E.I.,* Vol. II, p. 188.

[6] *I.A.,* Vol. XIX, 1890, p. 350.

---

[7] K. M. Munshi, *op. cit.*

[8] *The Rashtrakutas and their times*, A. S. Altekar, Poona, 1934.

[9] *Indian Archaeology*—A Review, 1959-60, p. 60.

[10] *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, p. 208.

Now before we proceed further, we may assemble the data given by this inscription.

Naravarma (Chahamana tilaka, Satalhano mandalika)	(1)	Rashtrakuta Yaravarma—Kolha (?) (W)	(4)
|		|	
Tribhuvanesvara (Ranaka) —Lakshma Devi (W)	(2)	Kirtisimha	(5)
|		|	
Meghanada (Rajakumara, Dinakara)	(3)	Lakshmadevi (W. of No. 2)	(6)

If the above relationship between the two princely houses is valid in the way noted above, as appears to be so from the record under reference, we have to surmise that in the mid 12th Cent. A.D., we had a petty Chāhamāna Chieftain (Mandalika) and holding sway over the area around Menal. He had received matrimonial alliance with some similar petty Rashtrakuta Chieftain, since the Rashtrakuta power had more or less decayed in upper India by this time. Perhaps further fresh discoveries in this area would help us in due course to fix the exact power and jurisdiction of the Naravarma (Chahamana tilaka) mentioned in this record.

We may now give the text of the inscription and the free translation of the same before dealing with some aspects of its contents.

1.1. Swasti-Samvat 1212 Varshe Bhādrapade māse suklapaksha Dvādasyām tithau some sravana Nakshatre

1.2. saubhāgyayoge Nihpannā Iyam Pratimā || Rājakumāra dinakara Meghanādasya || Chāhamāna

1.3. tilaka Satalahano mandalika Nara—varmaka sutah Rānakastrabhu—vaneśvarastato Meghanāda i

1.4. ha tasva sambhavah || Rāshtra -kuta Yarāvrahmaputra kolhā (?) sutasya chā kīrthisimhasya dauhitro Lakshmā

1.5. devvāh samudbhava || Sriman-Mahānāla Sivāyatanrinah Sach Chāhumānah sabhata sramegah Srāyu-

1.6. suta Srī Sukhakīrti vrddho nityam sva mūrtyā sa namaskarōti || Sūtradharah Ubhayasīha

1.7. sya putra nnrpakacha ranah taccha dvitiyā Deva Sīhah || pranamitah ||

वाचनालय,
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

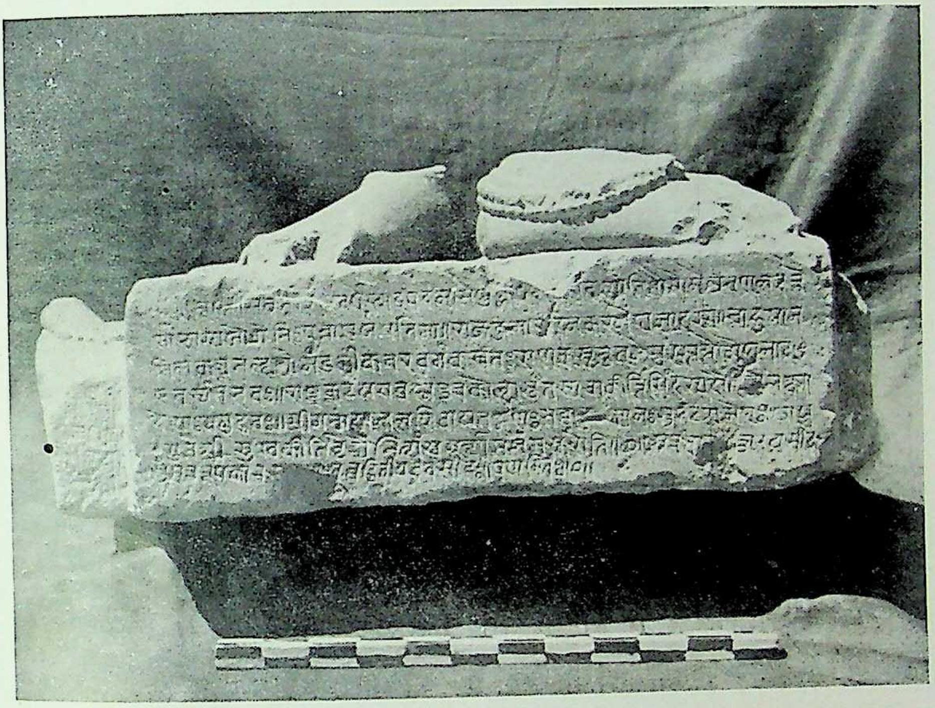


PLATE 1. Inscription on the pedestal of a stone image, from Menal, Chittorgarh district, Rajasthan.

Translation

"Hail Prosperity—This image of Rajkumara Dinakara Meghanāda has arisen (or has been brought about) at the auspicious yoga (or hour) on Sravana nakshatra, on Monday the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada of Samvat 1212th year (1156 A.D.). This Meghanāda was born to Rānaka Tribhuvanesvara the son of Naravarma, Chief of the Satalhano Mandala and the crest jewel of Chāhamāna clan; (this. Meghanada is- born to Lakshmādevi and is the daughter's son of Kirtisimha who was born of Kolha to Rashtrákuta Yaravrahma (Yaravarma). This Chāhamāna (namely Meghanāda) who is with his warriors etc., offers obeisance daily through his image to the venerable Sukhakirti the son of Ayu in the Siva temple of Sriman Mahanala. The Sutradhara is Devasimha the second, devoted to feet of the prince and the son of Ubhayasimha, with salutations."

The inscription thus gives us some new names of local chieftains around Menal in the 'Pathar' country. It has shown that although the area was directly under the sway of the Chāhamānas of Śākhambari, they were actually being ruled by a Mandalika owing allegience to the Chahamanas. The record in regard to the name of the Mahant Sukhakirti, presumably incharge of the day-to-day ritual of the temples at Menal, is in consonance with the practice prevalent in this region. However, it is obvious that by the time this record was engraved, the two main monasteries at Menal had not yet come into existence since the earlier of these two, close to the Mahanalesvara temple, is ascribed, by the inscriptional record in its pillar to Bhavabrahma, during the time of Prithivibhata II in 1170 A.D. i.e. on the last year of this king's rule. This, further, indirectly substantiates the mention of a Prasasti record by Tod (subsequently lost by him) giving the date of the Main Mahanalesvara temple to 1137 V.S. (1081 A.D.). The record under reference is indeed, next to the Prasasti of Tod noted above, the earliest record, noted at Menal and in view of its reference to Mahanalesvara Siva temple, should considerably succeed the construction of the main temple here. Incidentally it may also be noted that the mahants are called by suffix 'kirti' to their main name, like Sukhakirti, Suryakiriti, (found in another record at the same place). The lakulisa-Pasupata dignitaries called themselves with the suffix 'Rāśi'. The suffix 'kirti' may perhaps be a counter-blast to the Jain pontiffs with similar suffixes, as—'Vasantakirtideva' or 'Hemakirti' from the Jain Nishedika stones[11] (memorial stones over tombs) in the premises of the Jain Digambara Parsvanatha shrine at Bijolia, which was itself consecrated originally on the 1st year of Somesvara Chahamana in 1170-71 A.D., and was the immediate cause for the long rock inscription, close to the kund in the Parsvanatha temple compound, giving very valuable geneological and other information of the Chāhamānas of Śākhambari and this 'Uparamāla' region as already mentioned. Of particular significance, in the record under reference, is the fact of the establishment of the image of the prince, as offering obeisance, presumably not only to the venerable mahant of the shrine but the main lord of the shrine itself. It indicates the becoming modesty of the princes and chieftains in matters spiritual, and the respectful patronage they extended to religious institutions. It is likely that these religious heads were also religious preceptors to the ruling chieftains and had considerable influence over them.

---

[11] Hoernle's *Jain Pattavali, I.A.*, XX, 1891.

Multan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

BY

DR. HAMEED UD-DIN

The territory of Multan was annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi in 1228 by Sultan Shams al-Dīn Īltemish and continued to form its western frontier until 1437 when the Langāhs rebelled against Sultan Muhammad Shah, Sayyid, and set up an independent kingdom. The loss of that important province was a severe blow to the prestige of the Sayyids whose association with Multan extended back to the early years of the reign of Sultan Firūz Shah Tughluq who had bestowed its governorship on Malik Mardān Daulat,[1] the adoptive father of Malik Sulaimān, Sayyid. After Malik

---

[1] According to Muhammad Baqā, the original name of Malik Mardān Daulat was Khwājah Dhiā' al-Dīn. He was the former's great grandfather, and was himself the grandson of the saint, Khawājah 'Abdullah Haravī Ansārī. In 1353 he came from Herat to India at a time when Sultan Firūz Shah Tughluq was on a visit to Kalanaur. Since he was an exceptionally brave soldier, he was kindly received by the Sultan whom he accompanied during the campaign against Hājjī Ilyās of Bengal. In the course of the fighting, Firūz was so much impressed by his heroic performance, that he afterwards conferred on the latter the title of Malik Mardān Daulat and the governorship of Multan. He died in 1365. See "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (India Office Library, London), MS Ethe 126, fol. 411a (K.C.L. Cambridge) MS fol. 141b.

The Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, however, states that the tract of territory from Ghaznin to Multan was assigned in 1359 to Tātār Khan, while Malik al-Sharq Mardān Daulat also styled, Naṣīr al-Mulk, held charge of Karra, Mahoba and Dalmoh along the frontiers of Bengal. Later in 1376-77, realizing that the frontier of his kingdom along the Khorasan border had not been properly secured by his former governors, Firūz Shah transferred Naṣīr al-Mulk to Multan and handed over Karra and Mahoba to the latter's son, Malik al-Sharq Malik Shams al-Dīn Sulaimān. (*T.M.S.*, pp. 127, 133). Yahyā is, however, inconsistent, for, elsewhere (pp. 181-82) he describes Sulaimān as Mardān Daulat's adopted son, while the real son's name is given as Malik Shaikh who was the first to succeed his father as governor of Multan.

Again, according to Muhammad Baqā, Malik Shaikh was confirmed in the governorshp of Multan when he distinguished himself in Firūz Shah's

Mardān’s death, his son, Malik Shaikh succeeded him, but the latter was followed by Malik Sulaimān, on whose death the government of Multan was entrusted to Khidṛ Khan who later founded the Sayyid Dynasty at Delhi. The precise date of his installation as governor of Multan is not known, but the appointment was made by Sultan Firūz Shah probably towards the end of the latter’s reign.[2] In 1394 when Mahmūd Shah Tughluq ascended the throne of Delhi, Khidṛ Khan appeared to be firmly established at Multan.[3] Next year, however, Sārang Khan, the newly appointed governor of Dipalpur, picked up a quarrel with him and after a fierce encounter, defeated and imprisoned him. Khidṛ Khan somehow managed to escape and fled towards Mewat,[4] while Sārang Khan brought Multan under his control. He might have succeeded in establishing himself as an independent ruler, had not his ambitious career been cut short by Timūr’s invasion.

Timūr had nominated his grandson, Pīr Muhammad, as governor of Kabul, Ghaznin, Qandahar and the territories along the

---

campaigns against Nagarkot and Thatta in 1361, and when he also received the title of Malik al-Shaj‘. After spending some years at Multan, he was transferred to Gujarat and it was then that Malik Sulaimān succeeded as governor of Multan. “Mir’at-i-Jahān Numā” (Camb. MS) fol. 141b. (I.O. MS) fol. 411b. Yahyā, however, says that it was after Malik Shaik’s death that Sulaimān became the governor of Multan. *T.M.S.*, p. 182.

Muhammad Baqā’s statement appears to be more credible in view of his relationship with Malik Mardān Daulat, which enabled him to make use of some exclusive sources of information.

[2] *T.M.S.*, p. 182. Ḥasan Khākī “Muntakhab al-Twārīkh” (Eton College) MS fol. 78a. Muhammad Barārī “Mujmal-i-Mofassal” (A.S.B. Calcutta), MS. fol. 178a.

[3] According to Muhammad Baqā, his authority extended over the entire area from Dipalpur to Thatta. “Mir’at-i-Jahān Numā” (Camb. MS) fol. 141b.

[4] *T.M.S.*, p. 166, Faiḍullah ibn Zain al-‘Ābidīn “Tārīkh-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān” (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) MS fol. 171, (Browne Collection, Cambridge) MS fol. 387a. In addition to these two earliest works on the period of the Sayyid Sultans, numerous later authorities such as the *Tab. Akbarī*, “Majāmi‘ al-Akhbār”, *Firishtah*, *Ma’āth̲ir-i-Raḥīmī* and “Lubb al-Twārīkh” by R. Bindraban (I.O.M S.) maintain that Khiḍr Khan sought refuge in Mewat.

On the other hand, a number of authorities on Timūr’s invasion state that Khiḍr Khan had gone to Bayana. They include, Yazdī’s *Zafar Nāmah*, text, II, 178, ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Matla‘ al-Sa‘dain*, (Lahore, 1360 A.H.), I, 243. Mīr Khawand’s *Rauzat al-Ṣafā*, VI, 96, *Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī*, Ṯr. *Elliot* III, 475 border of India.[5] In December, 1397, the prince under Timur's instructions, captured Uch and proceeded towards Multan. The move was apparently the first step towards the conquest of Hindustan, as it had been represented to Timūr that the affairs of the Delhi Sultanate were controlled by two ambitious brothers, Mallu Iqbāl Khan and Sārang Khan. Whereas Mallū, the younger brother, was gradually usurping all power at Delhi, Sārang Khan was consolidating his position in Dipalpur and Multan. Prince Pīr Muhammad, before launching his attack on Multan, sent a letter to Sārang Khan asking him to submit peacefully and agree to pay an yearly tribute.[6] The latter, however, rejected the ultimatum as he could boast of a huge army and numerous elephants. Besides, he was a valiant fighter and was well known for his gallantry and generosity.[7] He carefully fortified and strengthened the fortress to which Pīr Muhammad laid siege. In spite of the vigorous attacks which the prince made twice every day, the siege continued for over three months, and in the course of the fighting, Timūr's son-in-law was killed.[8] On hearing the distressing news, Timūr finally decided to set out on his Indian campaign, and in October, 1398, arrived at Multan.[9] It did not take him long to reduce the fort,[10] for, Sārang Khan whose resources had been completely exhausted, surrendered at last, and the victor took him as a prisoner to Samarqand where he was put to death.[11]

---

[5] He was the second son of Ghiāth al-Dīn Jahāngīr who had died at Samarqand in 1375. See Ahmad ibn Bahbal "Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī" (I.O.MS.) fol. 27, Muhammad Baqā "Mir'at al-'Ālam" (I.O.MS.) fol. 222.

[6] *Malfūzāt, Elliot* III, 399.

[7] Muhammad Bihāmad Khānī "Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī" (British Museum) MS. fol. 305b.

[8] *Ibid.* Bihāmad Khānī has not mentioned Pīr Muhammad's name, although the latter's presence at Multan is confirmed by several authorities, including the works of the contemporary writers, Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī and Ghiāth al-Dīn 'Alī. See *Tārikh-i Futūhāt-i-Amīr Ṯimūr Gūrgān,* also called *Ẓafar Nāmah* (Praha/Beirut, 1937), I, 177. "Rūznāma-yi-Ghazawāt-i-Hindustan" (P.U. Lahore) MS p. 35.

[9] *T.M.S.*, p. 165, "Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī" fol. 305b, 'Abd al-Qārūn "Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd Shāhī' (British Museum), MS. fol. 28, Muhammad 'Alī "Mir'at al-Safā" (India Office) MS. fol. 6b. Mīr Ma'sūm, *Tārikh-i-Sind,* p. 60.

[10] According to the "Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī", Timūr spent a little over two months at Multan. This appears to be an over-calculation, for, he would not otherwise have been able to reach Delhi in December, 1398. Multan fell probably soon after his arrival. as his very presence with a huge fresh army must have demoralised Sārang Khan and the latter's supporters. The *T.M.S.* and some other authorities have stated that Multan

Before leaving India, Timūr nominated Khiḍr Khan as his deputy to hold charge of Delhi, together with its dependencies of Lahore, Dipalpur and Multan.[12] Khiḍr Khan, however, easily took possession of Multan, Dipalpur and the adjacent areas, but it was not until 1414, that he was able to establish himself at Delhi. He

had been conquered by Pīr Muhammad after a siege lasting six months, and Timūr who arrived there afterwards, put to death the prisoners that had been taken after the surrender of the fort. It seems, however, to be unnecessary for Timūr to have come to Multan if it had already fallen. The prince's urgent appeal for help which has been quoted in the *Malfūzāt* (*Elliot* III, 398-99), shows that he was incapable of capturing the fort on his own.

[11] "Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī", fol. 306b. In the "Afṣaḥ al-Akhbār" (B.M. MS, OR 138, fol. 342b) it is stated that Ṯimūr, after his return to Samarqand, lavishly distributed the booty among his relatives and friends. On one occasion be sent Sārang Khan with two elephants and some Indian gifts to Amīrzādah Mahmūd. This shows that Sārang Khan was not immediately executed, but was allowed to remain in Timūr's retinue for some time.

[12] The two contemporary works of the Sayyid period, *T.M.S.* (p. 166) and the "Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī" (fol. 306b) have stated that Timūr bestowed upon Khiḍr Khan the whole kingdom of Delhi. They are supported by the *Bābur Nāmah* (tr. Beveridge, II, 481) as well as some later authorities such as Ni'matullah "Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī ..." (I.O. MS.) fol. 74b (Camb. MS.) fol. 204b A.S.P. Dacca text, p. 124, Sujan Rai, *Khulasat al-Twārikh* (Delhi, 1918), p. 258, Muhammad Māh, "Tanqīḥ al-Akhbā" (India Office) MS. fol. 255b and "Mir'at al-'Ālam" (I.O.) fol. 258a.

A number of other authorities, particularly of the Mughal period, have, however, mentioned the grant of either Multan or Dipalpur, or both, while some of them have added Lahore as well. See Muhammad Sharīf Wuqū'ī, "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" (India Office) MS fol. 331b, "Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī", fol. 10, *Tab. Akbarī*, I, 156. Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab*, I, 271, "Lubb al-Twārīkh" (I.O.MS.) fol. 56b, Anon. "Untitled work on general history", compiled in Akbar's reign (I.O.MS. Ethe 120) fol. 493b, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* text I, 433, 'Abd al-Rahmān Shah Nawāz Khan, "Mir'at-i-Āftāb Numā" (Royal Asiatic Society, London) MS. Cordington 58, Unpaged, *Matla' al-Sa'dain*, I, 230, *Yazdī*, II, 128, *Malfūzāt*, *Elliot*, III, 449 and *Rauzat al-Safā*, VI, 92.

An interesting work by Mirzā Muhammad 'Abd al-Qādir Khan Qājār of Malwa, entitled *Awīmāq-i-Mughul* (Amritsar, 1902), has summed up the earlier statements in the following words: "Sayyid Khiḍr Khan who was in the company of Ṣaḥibqirān, was sent to Multan and a proclamation was issued that Timūr had conferred on him the vice-royalty of Hindustan .... And it actually happened that Sayyid Khiḍr Khan and his successors did set up their government at Delhi and in other territories of Hindustan." (p. 293).

appointed as his representative at Multan, Malik 'Abd al-Raḥīm, an adopted son of Malik Sulaimān, and conferred on him the title of 'Alā al-Mulk.[13]

Under Khiḍr Khan's successor, Sultan Mubārak Shah (1421-1434), Multan was subjected to renewed Mughal attacks, led by Shaikh 'Alī, the Mughal deputy Governor of Kabul.[14] The authorities have not indicated any motive for those incursions, but it is likely that Mubārak Shah's assumption of full royal titles might have caused an estrangement in his relations with the Mughal representatives at Kabul.[15] Another probable reason could be the

---

[13] *T.M.S.*, p. 183, "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" fol. 332b.

[14] Shah Rukh had appointed his fourth son, Syūrghatimish, as governor of Kabul and Ghaznin. He died, however, during his father's life time and was succeeded in the governorship by his son, Mas'ūd Mirzā. Shaikh 'Alī who claimed descent from Chingīz Khan, had been deputy governor of Kabul both under Syūrghatimish and Mas'ūd. See "Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī" fol. 311a, *Bābur Nāmah,* I, 382, "Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Aḥmadī" fol. 28b, Ghiāṯh al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī also known as Khwand Amīr, *Habīb al-Siyar fī Akhbār-i-Afrād al-Bashr,* text, (Bombay, 1857), vol. III, pt. III, pp. 126, 139. Raverty, H. G. *Mihran of Sind* (Calcutta, 1892), pp. 366-67, *Notes on Afghanistan* (London, 1888), pp. 364, 578, Hodivala, S. H. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History,* (Bombay, 1939), I, 405.

Yahyā appears to be unaware of Mas'ūd Mirzā's name, for, he describes the latter as *Amīrzādah pisr-i-Raghtamish.* See *T.M.S.*, p. 201.

[15] There is no evidence to suggest that Shaikh 'Alī's invasions were supported by Shah Rukh, and it is likely that the Mughal authorities at Kabul acted without instructions from him. Syūrghītīmīsh has bees described in the "Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī" (fol. 311a) as a cruel, thoughtless and wicked man, and he could have harboured evil and aggressive designs against the neighbouring Sayyid kingdom. Shaikh 'Alī probably continued his old master's policy under the young prince, Mas'ūd. See also *Firishta,* I, 324, R. Bindraban "Lubb al-Twārīkh" (I.O.) MS. fol. 58b. Both these works do not refer to any earlier source on which they base their conclusions.

On the other hand there are contemporary as well as some early authorities to confirm that Shah Rukh's relations with three Sayyid Sultans were very cordial. Khiḍr Khan was not only a loyal vassal but also a sincere friend of Shah Rukh, and had presented to the latter's son, Mirzā Ulugh Beg, his horoscope prepared by Indian astrologers. In spite of the precautions which Ulugh Beg had taken on that account, the tragedy forecast in the horoscope did, however, take place and his elder son, 'Abd al-Latīf, killed him as well the younger son, 'Abd al-'Azīz. Sultan Mubārak Shah's nominees at Lahore used to make customary payments to the Mughals, while Shah Rukh had been bestowing honours both on Mubārak Shah and Muhammad Shah. See 'Tārīk-i-Muhammadī" fol. 311b-312a, *T.M.S.*, p. 218, secret alliance between Shaikh ‘Alī and Jasrath Khokhar who wanted the former to engage Mubārak Shah's army on the Western frontier of the kingdom, thereby enabling him to organize an attack on Delhi.[16] This view is further strengthened by the fact that the news of Shaikh ‘Alī's advance towards Bhakkar and Sewistan in 1423 coincided with Jasrath's raid on Dipalpur and Lahore, during which a small force of Mughals was also united with the Khokhars. Again in 1431, when Shaikh ‘Alī was marching towards Tabarhinda, a contingent of Khokhars under Malik Abu'l Khair Khokhar and ‘Ain al-Mulk joined the Mughal army and guided them on their route along the bank of the Beas.[17]

Sultan Mubārak Shah, on hearing of Shaikh‘Alī's movements in 1423, entrusted the defence of Multan to his ablest general, Malik al-Sharq Mahmūd Ḥasan who was also appointed the new governor, as ‘Alā al-Mulk had recently died. Mahmūd Ḥasan restored order in the area by taking necessary security measures, and repaired the fort of Multan which had suffered damage during Timūr's invasion. Further, he recruited a large froce from among the local population, and when the Mughal army approached the border of Multan, he went forward to give battle, and after a vigorous attack, drove back Shaikh ‘Alī "without letting him set his foot on the soil of Multan".[18] Thereafter he reorganized the administration and during the four years that he held charge of Multan, peace and prosperity prevailed everywhere. In 1427 the Sultan transferred him to the fief of Hisar-Firūza, and appointed

---

"Majāmi‘ al-Akhbār" fol. 333b, *Habīb al-Siyar* ... vol. III, pt. III, pp. 157-158. "Mir'at al-‘Ālam" fol. 224b. *Matla‘ al-Sa‘dain*, I, 342.

[16] The association of the Khokhars with the Mughals goes back to the days of Timūr who had patronised Jasrath's father, Shaikhā Khokhar, during his advance towards D̲elhi. As Shaikhā did not remain steadfast in his loyalty, Timūr, while returning from India, had him arrested near Lahore and put to death. See Ghiāt̲h̲ al-Dīn ‘Alī "Rūznāma-yi-Ghazawāt-i-Hindustan" (Punjab University Library, Lahore) MS. pp. 80-81, Shāmi's *Zafar Nāmah*, p. 208, *Yazdī*, II, 160, *Matla‘ al-Sa‘dain*, I, 239, "Tārīkh-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān" (Paris MS.) fol. 171, (Camb. MS.) fol. 387a.

[17] Jasrath also took advantage of Shaikh ‘Aī's third attack and raided the territories of Jullundur and Bajwāra. It is, however, interesting to note that after Shaikh ‘Alī's final defeat, the Khokhar risings virtually came to an end. See *T.M.S.*, pp. 225-227, *Firishta*, 299, 304, "Tārīkh-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān" (Paris MS.) fol. 172, (Camb. MS.) fol. 390b.

[18] *T.M.S.*, pp. 202, 210.

4 AUG 1962

Malik al-Sharq Rajab Nādirah as governor of Multan. After two years, however, Rajab Nādirah died and Mahmūd Ḥasan was sent back to Multan with the title of 'Imād al-Mulk. The appointment was made well in time, for, Shaikh 'Alī launched his major attack on India in 1431 when he came to the rescue of the rebel, Pūlād, who was besieged by Mubārak Shah's army at Tabarhinda.[19] After realizing a large sum of money from Pūlād, and plundering the areas of Jullundar, Firuzpur, Lahore and the territory between the Ravi and the Chinab,[20] he ultimately went to Multan and encamped at a distance of about ten miles from the city. 'Imād al-Mulk sent Malik Sulaimān Shah Lodī to stop the invader's advance, but in the battle which followed, Sulaimān Shah was killed and his army was scattered.[21] On May 15, 1431, Shaikh 'Alī occupied Khusrūābād in the vicinity of Multan and on the following day he marched forward to assault the fort, but was held in check by 'Imād al-Mulk's infantry who engaged him in the orchards. Unable to reach the fort, Shaikh 'Alī returned to his camp at Khusruābād and waited there for about three weeks, during which his army was engaged in occasional skirmishes. At last on June 15, he delivered an attack at the gates of Multan, but 'Imād al-Mulk's forces, supported by the civilian population, offered a stiff resistance and after a brave fight, not only repulsed the invader but also recovered the goods and cattle which his men had carried away during the preceding weeks. Two days later, however, Shaikh 'Alī returned to the attack, but in a counter-offensive, 'Imād al-Mulk again drove him back. In the meantime strong reinforcements had been dispatched from Delhi and arrived at Multan in the first week of July. The combined imperial force

---

[19] For an account of Pūlād's revolt against Mubārak Shah, see *The Delhi Sultanate*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar (Bombay, 1960) pp. 129-130.

[20] The united river, Jhelum and Chinab (below their confluence) was known as Chinab. See *Firishta*, I, 305, *Tab. Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 142. In the A.S.B. text, I, 282, Chinab by an error, has been turned into Punjab. *T.M.S.* (219) however, gives the name of the united river as Jehlum, but I.G (XI, 189) explicitly states that the two rivers, after their union, flew under the name of Chinab. See also *Hodivala*, I, 408, *Mihran of Sind*, p. 367, f.n.

[21] Sulaimān Shah's name should not be confused with that of Sultan Shah Lodī who died later under Muhammad Shah, Sayyid. See *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 151, N. 2.

वाचनालय, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी
113100

moved towards Kotla 'Alā al-Mulk and prepared for a decisive engagement with the Mughals. 'Imād al-Mulk commanded the centre while the right and the left wings were in the charge of such veterans as Majlis-i'Ālī Fatḥ Khan, Malik Yūsuf, Rai Hainū, Majlis-i-'Alī Zīrak Khan, Malik Kālū, Khan-i-A'zam Islām Khan, and Khan-i-A'zam Kamāl Khan. Shaikh 'Alī also prepared for the battle, but when he faced the huge army that stood against him, he found that he was greatly outnumbered. This caused panic among his followers and as soon as the imperial army began their attack, the Mughals took to flight. Shaikh 'Alī sought temporary shelter within the fortifications which had been raised round his baggage, but being overtaken by his pursuers, he abandoned all his equipment and ran towards the Jehlum. He succeeded in crossing it together with his nephew, Amir Muzaffar, and came to the town of Seor (modern Shorkot) where the latter entered the fort, while Shaikh 'Alī returned to Kabul. A large number of Mughal soldiers who fled, were either killed or drowned, and an enormous quantity of equipment was captured during their pursuit. The Delhi army followed the fugitives up to Seor and besieged the fort, but on receipt of orders from the Sultan, raised the siege and returned.

Mubārak Shah was ill-advised to stay operations against the Mughals at a time when the fort of Seor was on the point of falling to his victorious army. A still greater blunder which he committed, was to recall 'Imād al-Mulk from Multan and replace him by Khair al-Din Khānī who was least capable of strengthening the western defences of the kingdom. The Sultan's own biographer considers the decision to be unwise,[22] and since it was taken without proper consideration, the consequences could not be happy. 'Imād al-Mulk had twice defeated Shaikh 'Alī and his presence at Multan would have discouraged the latter from undertaking another expedition in that direction. The news of his transfer, however, provided Shaikh 'Alī with an opportunity to retrieve the prestige of the Mughal army. Hardly four months had elapsed, when he set out from Kabul once more and sacked the territories around Multan. The areas which suffered the worst devastation were Khotpur and Tulamba. However, when Mubārak Shah marched out in person and came to Samana, Shaikh 'Alī retired to Bartot.[23] After about a year he emerged once again and proceeded towards Tabarhinda, but on learning that 'Imād al-Mulk had been sent to oppose him, he modified his plans and went to Seor. Thereafter he attacked Sahniwal and Lahore which were mercilessly sacked.[24] Mubārak Shah who had, by that time, paid heavily for his miscalculations, came out once more to chase the invader and reduce his stronghold of Seor. Accompanied by his two eminent generals, 'Imād al-Mulk and Islām Khan Lodi, the Sultan crossed the Beas and had just arrived at the bank of the Ravi, when he heard that Shaikh 'Alī had already crossed the Jehlum and had taken to his heels.[25] This was his final retreat, for, he never entered the Indian territory again. Mubārak Shah, however, continued his march and after arriving at Seor, laid siege to the fort which was held by Amir Muzaffar. The latter fought stubbornly for about a month, but having lost hope of receiving any help from Shaikh 'Alī, he negotiated peace by paying a large sum of money and offering the hand of his daughter in marriage to the Sultan's (adopted) son.[26]

---

[22] *T.M.S.*, p. 223. See also "Tārīkh-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān" (Paris MS.) fol. 172a, (Camb. MS.) fol. 393a.

After the expulsion of the Mughals, Mubārak Shah went to Multan in 1432 to visit the shrines of the saints. He also took the opportunity of reorganizing its affairs, and realizing the strategic importance of the area, entrusted its government to Khān-i-Khānān

---

23. *T.M.S.*, p. 225. In *Tab. Akb.*, A.S.B. text, I, 283, it is mentioned as Balot, but in other texts quoted in Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī, I, 423-N2, and *Elliot* III, 74-N. 1, it is given as Martot, which could be Marwat in the Bannu district of the present province of West Pakistan. See *Hodivala*, I, 409.

24. "Tārikh-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān" (Paris MS.) fol. 172, (Camb. MS.) fol. 394a. Sahniwal or Sahiwal is the old name of modern Montgomery in W. Pakistan.

25. *Ibid.* See also Ḥasan Khākī "Aḥsan al-Twārīkh" (British Museum) MS, fol. 214a, (Eton College) MS. entitled "Muntakhab al-Twārīkh", fol. 78a.

26. In the *T.M.S.* (p. 230) the words used are "the king's son", by which the author probably meant the king's nephew, Muhammad ibn Farīd, whom he had adopted as his son. This is confirmed at p. 236 where Muhammad Shah is described as "son of Farīd Shah son of Khiḍr Shah". The *Tab. Akb.*, I, 287, and the "Tanqīḥ al-Akhbār" (fol. 256) have further quoted the "Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī" to establish that Muhammad Shah was not Mubārak's real son. See also Nūr al-Haqq" Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (P. L. Lahore) MS. p. 56. (Cambridge MS.) fol. 53.

whom the "Tārīkh-i-Haqqi" describes as his brother.[27] Two years later Sultan Muhammad Shah, after getting rid of the regicides, paid a visit to Multan and confirmed Khān-i-Khānān[28] who was, however, destined to be the last governor of Multan on behalf of the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi. Muhammad Shah's weakness as a ruler encouraged centrifugal tendencies in the kingdom and led to the rise of political adventures in many places. Multan did not remain unaffected by the sharp decline in the authority of the Sultan, and in 1437 Budhan Khan Sindhī, leader of the Baloch tribe of Langāhs, collected his followers at Uch and marched upon Multan. He expelled Khān-i-Khānān, and styling himself as Sultan Mahmūd Shah, founded the Langāh Dynasty.[29]

The Sayyid Sultans, Muhammad Shah and his successor, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Ālam Shah, were both unable to send any forces to suppress the rising at Multan, and Sultan Mahmūd Shah Langāh, therefore, continued to reign undisturbed for seventeen years.[30] After his death in 1454, he was succeeded by his son, Sultan Quṭb al-Dīn, who further strengthened the new kingdom by warding off a powerful attack led by Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī I of Malwa. The Khaljī Sultan, having failed in his earlier attempt to conquer Delhi,[31] wished to satisfy his desire for northward expansion by annexing the territory of Multan. He was, however, surprised to find the Langāh Sultan equally matched in strength, and after a battle which proved inconclusive, he arranged peace with Quṭb al-Dīn and returned to his own kingdom.[32] Sultan Quṭb al-Dīn died in 1469 and was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ḥusain Langāh, who proved to be the strongest ruler of his dynasty. He extended his kingdom by conquering Shorkot, Chiniot, Kot Karor and the whole territory up to Dhankot.[33] All the four places were well known for their strong forts which came into Ḥusain's possession and greatly enhanced his power and prestige. His bravest action, however, was to thwart the attempt of the Lodī Sultan of Delhi to recover Multan.

---

[27] 'Abd al-Haqq, "Tārīkh-i-Haqqī" (U. L. Cambridge) MS. p. 128. See also Nūr al-Haqq "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (British Museum) MS. fol. 241b (John Rylands Library, Manchester) MS. fol. 257a. (I.O. MS) fol. 295b. Mubārak Shah's visit to Multan is further confirmed by *T.M.S.*, p. 231, and Tāīkh-i-Ṣadr-i- Jahān" (Paris MS.) fol. 127b, (Cambridge MS.) fol. 394.

[28] See Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī, I, 430, *Tab. Akb.* I, 290, Elliot IV, 84, The Sultan's visit to Multan is also mentioned in the *T.M.S.* (p. 243) and the "Tārīkh-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān" (Paris, 172b), (Camb. 395b).

[29] See the present writer's note on the 'Origin of the Lankahs' in the *Delhi Sultanate*, Appendix pp. 246-247. It may further be added that in the *T.A.*, I, 291, *Elliot*, IV, 84, and Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī, I, 430, there is a reference to the disturbance at Multan in 1437 on account of the rebellion of the Langāhs, of which no details are, however, given. The establishment of the Langāh dynasty, according to these authorities, did not take place until eight years later, and the intervening gap has been filled by them with the story of the supposed elevation to power of Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī and his subsequent overthrow by the fictitious Rāi Sihrah (or Sahra).

[30] The date of his death is correctly given in the "Tārīkh-i-Haqqī" (MS. p. 129) as 858 A.H./A.D. 1454. In the "Zubdat al-Twārīkh", however, the length of the reign is correctly stated to be seventeen years, and although the date of accession is mentioned as 841 A.H., yet the date of death, probably through the copyist's error, is given as 850 A.H. See B.M. M.S. fol. 241b, Manchester MS. fol. 257b. I.O. MS. 295b.

An important change had come about at Delhi in 1451, when Sultan Buhlūl Shah Ghāzī put an end to the nominal rule of 'Ālam Shah Sayyid and established the dynasty of the Lodī Afghans. He was determined to resuscitate the Sultanate and win back for it some of the important territories that had lately seceded. His desire for the reconquest of Multan was based not only on political considerations, but was also influenced by personal and dynastic interests, for the Lodīs had, like the Sayyids, begun their Indian career at Multan.[34] Soon after his accession to the throne of Delhi, he set out for Multan in 1452, but had hardly reached Dipalpur, when he was recalled by the news of Mahmūd

---

[31] See Shihāb-i-Hakim, "Ma'āt͟hir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī" (U. L. Tübingen, Germany) MS. fol. 92b-93a, (Bodleian, Oxford) MS. fol. 113b, (K. C. L. Cambridge) MS. fol. 160b, See also *The Delhi Sultanate,* p. 135.

[32] "Tārīkh-i-Haqqī", MS. p. 129, Abu'l Faḍl, Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, text (Calcutta, 1872), I, 555, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh", B M. MS. fol. 241b, Manchester MS fol. 257b. In the "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" (I.O. MS) fol. 341a, it is stated that Mahmūd Khaljī was accompanied by a force of 140,000 men and defeated Quṭb al-Dīn at a place 60 miles outside Multan. He made peace, however, on receiving some nice elephants from the Langāh Sultan. This does not seem to be correct as Mahmūd's object was the conquest of Multan which he apparently failed to achieve on account of Quṭb al-Dīn's brave resistance

[33] All the four places formed part of the territory now included in the Jhang, Mianwali and Mazaffargarh districts of West Pakistan.

[34] See *Delhi Sultanate,* p. 139.

J. 4

Sharqī's advance towards his capital.[35] About six years later when he had concluded a truce with Ḥusain Sharqī, he marched out again to settle the affairs of the Punjab and recover Multan, but had once more to cut short his expedition on account of the Sharqī invasion of Delhi.[36] Finding it, however, difficult to leave the capital, he entrusted the task of reducing Multan to his son, Bārbak Shah, who was assisted by Tātār Khan Lodī, governor of Lahore. The moment of the attack was well chosen, for, Ḥusain Langāh was engaged in suppressing his brother's revolt at Kot Karor.[37] Bārbak Shah arrived in the neighbourhood of Multan and camped to the north of the city. Before he could finalize his arrangements for assaulting the fort, Ḥusain Langāh rushed back to Multan and, crossing the Indus under cover of darkness, re-entered the fort during the latter part of the night. Early in the morning he came out of the city with 12000 men, and as soon as he saw the army of Delhi, he ordered all of his men to shoot three successive arrows at them. The first volley of 12000 arrows produced confusion and disorder in the ranks of the enemy. The second shower of arrows separated the Lodī soldiers from each other, and the third volley put them to flight.[38] They ran away in panic and did not halt until they had reached Chiniot, where they recomposed themselves, and after treacherously killing the keeper of the fort and some of his men, they returned to Delhi. Ḥusain Langāh did not pursue the retreating army nor did he trouble to relieve Chiniot. The victory at Multan had made him immensely strong as he was able to collect a large amount of equipment which the Lodīs had left behind.[39] Sultan Buhlūl did not make any further attempt to impose his authority on Multan.[40].

---

[35] 'Abbās Khan Sarwānī, "Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī" (Indian (National Archives, New Delhi) MS. p. 2, (Pb. Univ. Lib., Lahore) MS. p. 2 (B.M.) MS. fol. 3a, of OR 1782 and fol. 110 of Add. 16824, (Bodleian Lib., Oxford) MS. p. 2, (K. C. L. Cambridge) MS. fol. 2a. 'Abdullah "Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī" (P.U.L., Lahore) MS. p. 14, (S.O.A.S. Lib., London) MS. p. 16, *T.A:*, I, 301. See also *Ḏelhi Sultanate*, p 140.

[36] According to Ni'matullah, Buhlūl had not yet gone as far as Lahore. See "Tārīkh-i-Khan Jahānī . . . " (India Office) MS. fol. 81b, *Dorn*, p. 51.

[37] Ḥusain's brother, Shihāb al-Dīn, who was governor of Kot Karor, (Muzaffargarh district) had declared his independence and assumed the title of Sultan. The former put down the revolt in a very short time and arrested Shihab al-Dīn. See *T.A.*, III, 527.

[38] Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab" fol. 157, "Aḥsan al-Ṭwārīkh" fol. 453b, *Firishta*, II, 628, *T.A.*, III, 528.

Ḥusain Langāh tried to establish cordial relations with Buhlul's successor, Sultan Sikandar Shah, and sent a friendly mission to him soon after his accession to the throne. The members carried gifts and presents for the Lodī Sultan, and after offering condolence over Buhlūl's death, sought an alliance with him. Sikandar, who had probably no idea of conquering Multan, received the envoys warmly and gave them robes of honour. He reciprocated Ḥusain's desire for friendship by concluding with him a treaty which provided for mutual help and respect for each other's frontiers.[41]

Ḥusain Langāh also maintained friendly relations with Sultan Muẓaffar Shah of Gujrat, and deputed a learned scholar, Qāḍī Muhammad, to visit his court. The envoy was instructed to make a close study of the royal palaces of Gujrat, so that the Langāh Sultan might be able to build a palace of equal grandeur for himself. The latter was disappointed when Qāḍī Muhammad told him on return, that the entire revenue of Multan would not suffice to meet the cost of even one such palace. However, the vizier, 'Imād al-Mulk Būbak, consoled the Sultan by remarking that although the kingdoms of Gujrat, Malwa, Bengal and the Deccan could boast of their wealth and prosperity yet the land of Multan excelled all of them in the number of eminent saints and scholars that she had produced.[42] He referred to the presence in Multan of the descendants of the most venerable saint, Shaikh al-Islam, Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn Zakriyā Quraishī,[42a] as well as the representatives of the line of Bukhārī saints.[42b] He also mentioned the names of two outstanding scholars of the time, Maulānā Fathullah and the latter's pupil, Maulānā 'Azīzullah, both of whom had hailed from Multan.[43]

---

[39] See "Tanqīh al-Akhbār" fol. 233, "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (Camb. MS.) fol. 36a *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, I, 276, *Khulāsat al-Twārīkh*, p. 293.

[40] Aḥmad Yādgār has given a long account of Aḥmad Khan Bhattī's rebellion in Sind and the appeal for help made by the ruler of Multan to Buhlūl, who is believed to have dispatched a large army under prince Bāyazīd to vanquish the rebel. The story which also includes some romantic episodes, is however, uncorroborated and seems to be baseless. Besides, Ahmad Yādgār is a careless writer, for, he has neither described the rise of the Langāhs nor has mentioned the name of the ruler of Multan who is supposed to have asked for Buhlūl's help. Instead, he has casually stated in his account of Sultan Sikandar's reign that an Amīr called Ṣaif Khan, held Multan in Buhlūl's time, and having become rebellious, occupied some more *parganas* without the Sultan's permission. This would further imply that the rulers of Multan owed allegiance to Buhlūl, although nothing could be farther from truth. Aḥmad Yādgār has probably copied Ṣaif Khan's name from the 'Tārīkh-i-Ḏā'ūdī" which states that both he and Tātār Khan (of Lahore) had rebelled and had taken possession of many territories. His connection with Multan has not, however, been indicated. See *Tārikh-i-Shahī* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 20-23, 31, 395, "Dā'ūdī" (S.O.A.S.) MS. p. 26.

[41] "Aḥsan al-Twārīkh" fol. 454b, *Firishta*, II, 630-31, *T.A.*, III, 530. A modern work on the *First Afghan empire* .... by A. B. Pandey (Cal. 1956) states that in 1451 Buhlūl was already the master of Multan and at Sikandar's death, the Lodī empire included the whole of Multan. No authority is cited for such an astounding statement, although the work as a whole is believed to be based, among others, on such well known sources as *TA*, *Firishta* & *M. Rahīmī*, all which contain separate sections on the Langāh rulers of Multan who never owed allegiance to the Lodīs.

---

[42] *Mamlukat-i-Gujrat .... agarchih zarkhiz ast,....fa ammā mamlukat-i-Multan mardkhiz ast.* See *T.A.*, III, 532, *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī,* I, 273. *Firishta,* II, 431-432.

[42a] Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn was the founder of the Suhrwardī order of Muslim saints in India. Born in 1182 in the fort of Karor (near Leiah in the Muzaffargarh disrtict of West Pakistan), he toured the Middle East while still in his teens, and at Baghdad became the disciple of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī at whose instance he came back to Multan and settled there. He died in 1264 and his tomb at Multan has since been a most renowned place of pilgrimage, having bestowed upon the city a unique reputation in the Islamic world. See plate.

Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn's spiritual successor was his son, Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn, who was followed in 1285 by the latter's son, Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l Fatḥ, whose mausoleum in the fort of Multan occupied a very conspicuous place. (See plate 10). The building had been erected by Sultan Ghiath al-Din Tughluq who wished his tomb to be located in proximity to that of Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn. He died, however, at Delhi in 1325 and was buried there. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq allowed the building to be used as a tomb for Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn who died in 1334. The Shaikh's descendents who lived in the time of the Langāhs and to whose presence reference is made in *T.A.*, *Firishta* and other works, were Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī, the guardian of Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn's shrine and his son, Shah 'Abdullah Quraishī, who was married to Sultan Buhlūl Lodi's daughter. See 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Nafhāt al-Uns*, text, Ed. Merdi (Tehran. 1337 A.H.), p. 504, *Firishta*, II, 758-774, Ghauthī Shattārī, "Gulzār-i-Abrār" (Manchester MS) fols. 32b, 124b, (A.S.B.. MS) fols. 64b, 66b, Jamālī "Siyar al-'Arifīn" (I.O. MS) fols. 220-2, Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, text, I, 555, II, 215, Amīr Ḥasan, *Fawā'id al-Fawād* (Delhi, 1865), pp. 43, 119, 137, Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā'* (Lahore, 1867), p. 740, S. M. Ikram, *Āb-i-Kauthar* (Lahore, 1958), pp. 289-308.

[42b] The prominent seat of the Bukhārī saints was 'Uch where Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn of Bukhārā settled in 1244. Among his successors were such

The vizier's remarks were apt and pertinent as Sultan Ḥusain was keenly interested in the encouragement of learning. He had assigned the fief of Shorkot to his uncle, Jām Bāyazīd,[44] who was so liberal in his patronage of men of letters that numerous scholars from neighbouring territories flocked to his court,[45] while many

---

eminent saints as Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān Jahān Gasht, Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn also known as Rājū Bukhārī Qattāl, and Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb. The last-named has been mentioned in the *T.A.* and *Firishta* as a contemporary of the Langāh Sultans. He had settled at Delhi where he died in 1526-27. See 'Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbār al-Akhyār* (Delhi, 1891), pp. 210-214, *Ā'īn*, text, II, 222, *Firishta*, II, 774-785, "Siyar al-'Ārifīn" (B.M. MS) fol. 211, (I.O. MS) fols. 222, 243, *Āb-i-Kauthar*, pp. 309-322. "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" I.O. MS. fols. 49b, 59b.

[43] Shaikh 'Azīzullah had gone to Sambhal where he was engaged in promoting the study of Arabic and Persian languages. Two of his pupils, Miān Ḥātim of Sambhal and Shaikh Allah Diyā of Jaunpur, had specialized in grammar and commentaries on Traditions. A brief list of the works which they had read and composed, will be found in Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab*, I, 324. For an account of other scholar-saints of the period, see the writer's article on "Indian Culture in the Late Sultanate Period" in the *East & West*, Rome, N.S. 12/1 (1961).

[44] Jām Bāyazīd and his brother, Jām Ibrāhīm, had both come from Sind where they had been ill-treated by the ruler, Jām Nandā, who was anxious to put an end to the ascendancy of the Sahītah tribe to which the two brothers belonged. As Sultan Ḥusain Langāh happened to be their sister's son, they came to his court and were very cordially received. Ibrāhīm was granted the fief of Uch where he settled. See *T.A.*, III, 529, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, I, 271-72.

[45] One of them was Mīr Shahdād who was said to have popularised the Shī'ah creed in Multan. He migrated from Sewi to Multan along with his brother, Mīr Allahdād and their father, Mīr Chākar Rind, but they did not feel happy as Sultan Husain showed great favour to their opponent, Malik Suhrāb Dūdā'ī, who held charge of the territory from Kot Karor to Dhankot (or Dīnkot in the Mianwālī district of West Pakistan). All of them, therefore, moved to Shorkot where Jām Bāyazīd, on account of his tribal Affinity with them, treated them very kindly and assigned lands to all of them. See *T.A.*, III, 538, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, I, 278-279. In *Firishta*, II, 435, the name of Mīr Shahdād is given as Mīr Shahdā, that of his brother as Mirzā Shahīd, and that of their father as Amīr 'Imād Gardezī. For Dhankot, see *Ā'īn*, tr. II, 401, "Dā'ūdī", Elliot IV, 488.

others who stayed at Multan, received stipends from him.[46] Although unlettered himself, the Jām spent the greater part of his life in the company of pious and learned men. He had chosen as his minister a highly accomplished scholar, Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn Quraishī, who had spent a long time in Khorasan, specializing himself in various branches of knowledge. Notwithstanding the fact that the Shaikh's eyesight had been impaired, the Jām earnestly requested him to accept the office and consulted him on all important matters.[47]

Ḥusain Langāh enjoyed a long reign of thirty years, the closing part of which was, however, marred by the tragic death of his son, Fīrūz, whom he had raised to the throne in his life time, to be able to spend his old age in retirement. Fīrūz was, unfortunately, an inexperienced and haughty youth. He soon became jealous of the vizier's capable son, Bilāl, and had the latter killed with the help of a hired slave.[48] The vizier, 'Imād al-Mulk, was horrified at the young king's treachery and secretly managed to poison him. The tragedy compelled the old Sultan to assume the reins of government once more, but being overwhelmed with grief, he called Jām Bāyazīd from Shorkot to help him in getting rid of the vizier. The Jām hurried to Multan and lost no time in putting 'Imād al-

---

[46] Under Ḥusain's successor, when Bāyazīd had lost personal contact with Multan, he continued to send regular instalments of money and gifts for scholars and pious men who lived there through the boats that went down the river to Multan.

[47] He was also sent as an emissary to Sultan Sikandar Lodi when the Jām's relations with Mahmūd Langāh had become strained. See below text and Note: 51.

On his return from Sikandar's court, Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn met an accidental death on account of a fall from the roof, in which he broke his neck. This is superstitiously believed to have taken place in consequence of the disrespect shown by him to Maulānā 'Azīzullah whom Jām Bāyazīd had invited to visit Shorkot. The Maulānā, after being taken round in a procession, was entertained in the Jām's palace where arrangement was also made for his stay. The minister, however, without the Jām's knowledge, sent a message to the Maulānā, by way of a joke, asking him to choose for himself any of the slave girls who were attending upon him. Maulānā 'Azīzullah taking offence at this indecent suggestion, immediately left without even saying farewell to his host. *T.A.*, III, 539, Firishta, II, 636.

[48] See *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, text, I, 555. "Tanqīḥ al-Akhbār" fol. 233b, *T.A.*, III, 533.

Mulk under arrest. Sultan Ḥusain was pleased at this prompt action and appointed Bāyazīd as his new minister as well as the guardian of the minor prince, Mahmūd son of Fīrūz, who was designated heir apparent. A few days later he died.[49]

The new king, Mahmūd, was a young boy who gathered round himself a band of unworthy and depraved men and began to waste his time in frivolities. Instigated by his evil advisers, he became estranged with Jām Bāyazīd who gave up his residence at the court in disgust, and moved to his private house in the outskirts of Multan, from where he continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom. The tale bearers, however, persistently poisoned the king's ears against Bāyazīd, and a group of them assaulted his son, 'Ālam Khan, who had come to the court to pay his respects to Mahmūd. 'Ālam Khan narrowly escaped with his life[50] and hurried back to his father who sent him to Shorkot to collect the troops and dispatch them to Multan. As soon as the troops arrived, the Jām also left for Shorkot and defeated a small detachment which Mahmūd had sent to pursue him. After his arrival at Shorkot, Bāyazīd severed his relations with Mahmūd Langāh, and declared his allegiance to Sultan Sikandar Lodī whose name

वाचनालय,

---

[49] The correct date of death, in view of available evidence, is 904 A.H./ A.D. 1498-99. Niẓām al-Dīn quotes two probable dates, 904 and 908 A.H. in *T.A.*, page 435 of A.S.B. text, vol. III. Later, however, he confirms 904 A.H., when he states at p. 540, that Ḥusain's successor, Mahmūd, died in 931 A.H. after a reign of 27 years. *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, I, 275, 281 (A.S.B. text) supports the same account, except in the case of the length of Ḥusain's reign, which *T.A.* gives as 34 or 36, but *Ma'āthir* states as 30 or 34 years. The period of thirty years is, however, confirmed by the "Tārikh-i-Haqqī" (MS p. 129) whose account is consistent throughout, as the date of Ḥusain's accession given therein is 874 A.H. This is further supported by the "Zubḍat al-Twārikh" (B.M. MS. fol. 241b, Manchester MS fol. 257b, I.O. MS. fol. 296a).

Firishta, like Niẓām al-Dīn, quotes two dates, 904 and 908 A.H. regarding Ḥusain's death, while Abu'l Faḍl, like Nihāwandī, considers the length of the reign to be 30 or 34 years. However, as noted above, 904 A.H. should be regarded as the correct date and 30 years as the length of the reign. See *A'īn*, text, I, 555, tr. II, 335 and N. 1. *Firishta* (Bombay text), II, 633.

[50] While defending himself with his sword, 'Ālam Khan slightly wounded Mahmūd who was standing nearby. Every one rushed to save the king and in the confusion which followed, 'Ālam managed to escape by breaking the door open. *T.A.*, III, 536, *Ma'āthir*, I, 277.

he ordered to be read in the public prayers.[51] Sikandar was delighted with the news and rewarded him for his loyalty with robes of honour and suitable gifts. He further instructed Daulat Khan Lodī, governor of Lahore, to help the Jām in the event of any trouble.[52] After some time when Mahmūd marched towards Shorkot, Daulat Khan arrived with his army to support Jām Bāyazid, but he ultimately succeeded in effecting a settlement whereby Bāyazī retained Shorkot as an independent chief and the Ravi formed the boundary between him and the Langāh ruler.[53]

In 1524 when Bābur had occupied the major part of the Punjab, he asked Mirzā Shah Husain Arghūn, ruler of Thatta, to take possession of Multan.[54] The latter immediately prepared for an invasion of the Langāh territory and advanced towards Multan.[54a] Sultan Mahmūd on hearing the staggering news, col-

---

[51] See Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab" fol. 158b, "Tanqīḥ al-Akhbār" fol. 233b, "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (Camb. MS) fol. 36a, *Āīn,* text I, 555, tr., II, 336.

[52] *T.A.*, III, 537, Hasan Khākī "Muntakhab", fol. 158b.

[53] Ibid. *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī,* I, 278.

[54] During his invasion of Lahore in 1524, Bābur had defeated an army which Ibrāhīm Lodī had sent under Bahār Khan, and which had already succeeded in driving out Daulat Khan Lodī, governor of the Punjab. As Bābur had not restored Daulat Khan to Lahore, the latter tried to divert his forces by asking him to disperse an assemblage of Jilwānī Afghans near Multan. Earlier Daulat Khan had himself fled towards Multan in quest of asylum. It is likely, therefore, that Bābur wanted Mirzā Arghūn to put an end to the Afghan power in Multan in good time, to facilitate his own advance towards Delhi in 1526. See Khāfī Khan, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* (Calcutta, 1869), I, 47, *Firishta,* I, 325, Erskine, *History of India,* I, 418; Abu'l Faḍl, *Akbar Nāmah,* text (Calcutta, 1886), I, 110, *T.A.*, III, 540, Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab", fol. 158b. See also the writer's article on "The fall of the first Afghan empire in India" in the *Asiatische Studien,* Zurich, Vol. 1961.

[54a] According to Mīr Ma'sūm, Shah Husain Arghūn undertook the conquest of Multan on his own, and accomplished it by leading three campaigns. In 1525 he captured Uch, pulled down its fort and carried away the wood of the building to Bhakkar. His victory compelled Mahmūd Langāh to raise an army of 18,000 soldiers with which the latter marched out of Multan. Husain Arghūn also came forward, but Mahmūd suddenly died and his nobles at the advice of his mother, arranged peace with Husain who returned to his kingdom. At the invitation of Langar Khan, however, he led his final expedition against Multan in 1526 and conquered it after a siege lasting over a year. This account is not supported by other contemporaneous works. See *Tarikh-i-Sind Ed. Daudpota* (Bombay, 1938), pp. 150-160.

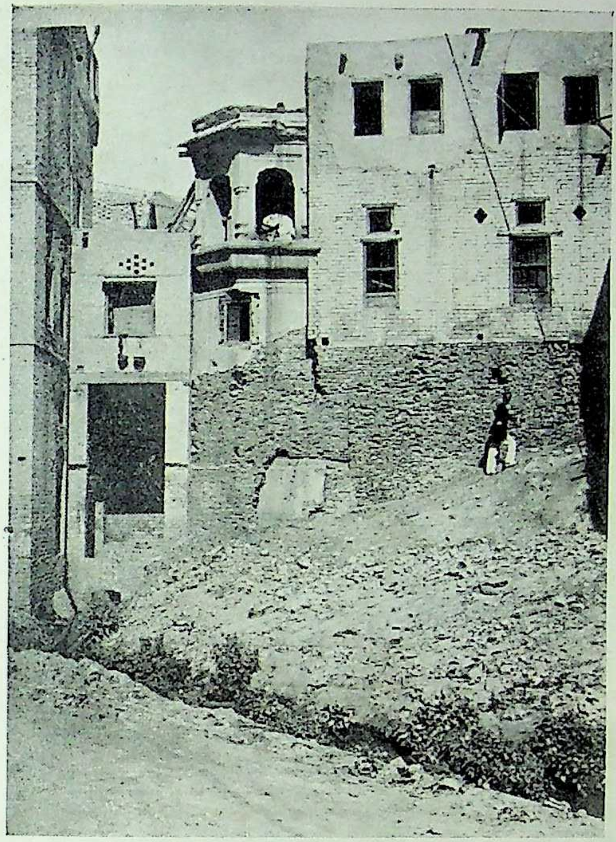


PLATE 1

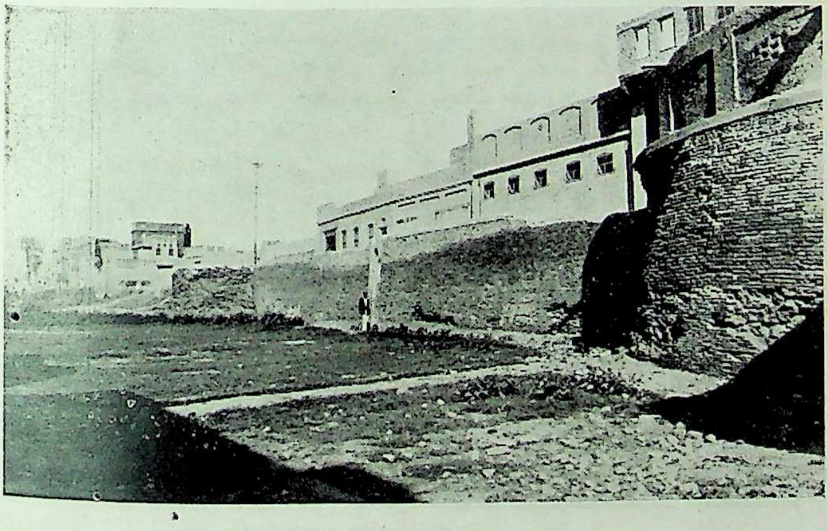


PLATE 2

General view of old Multan with portions of the remains of the city wall.

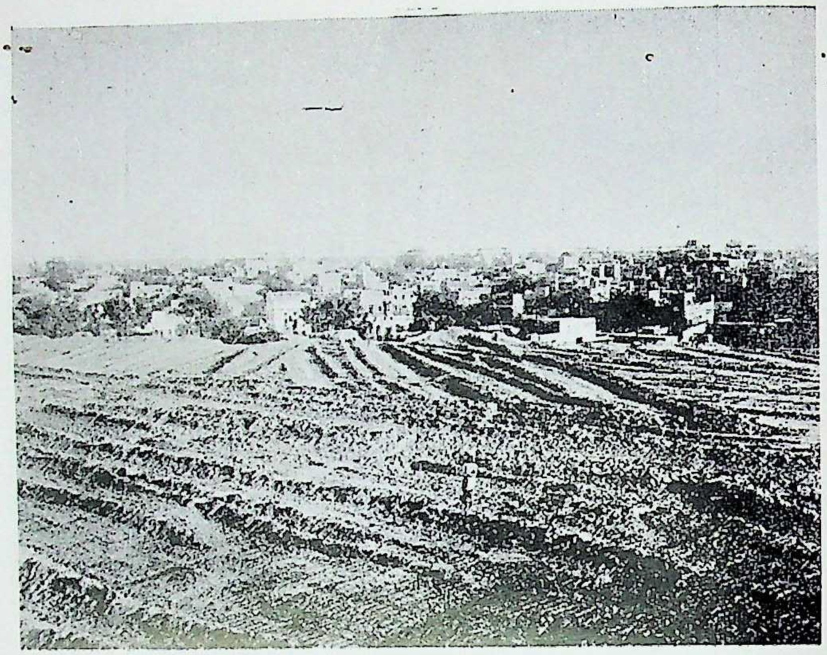


PLATE 3

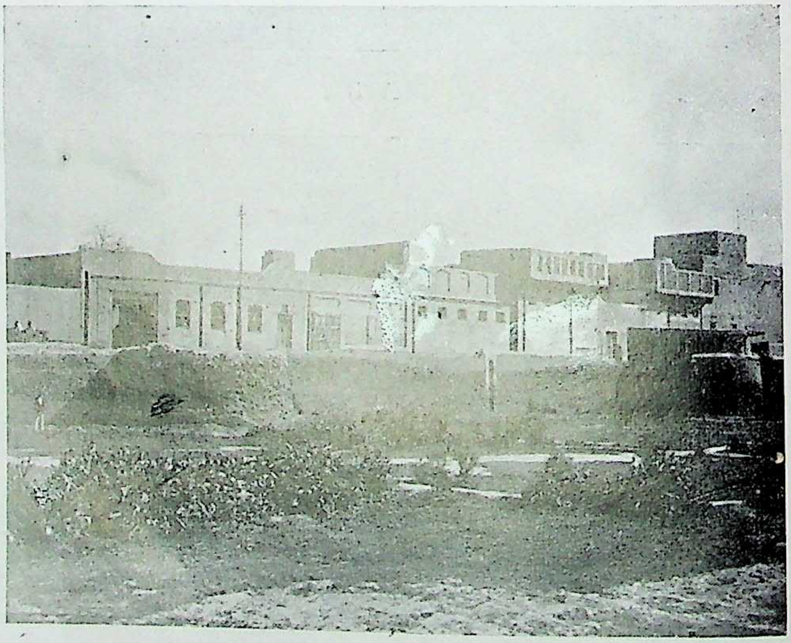


PLATE 4
General view of old Multan with portions of the remains of the city wall.

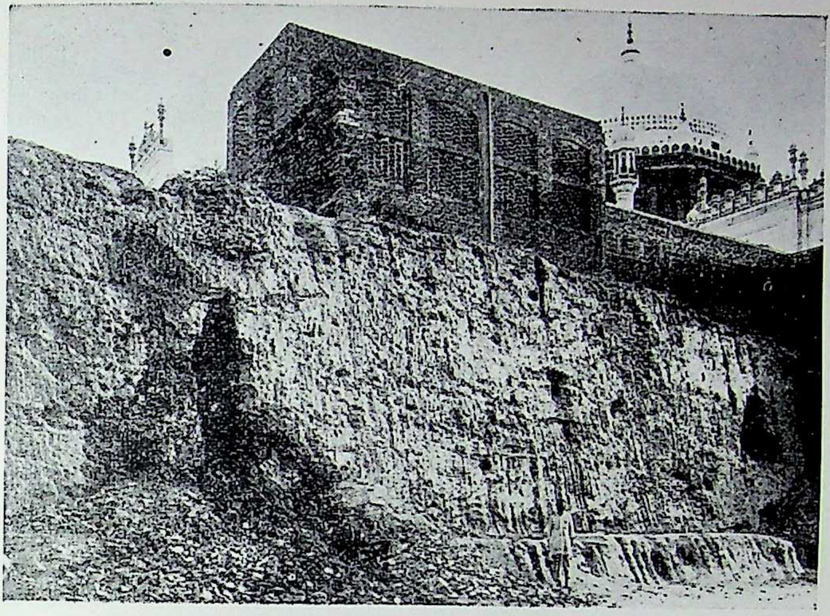


PLATE 5

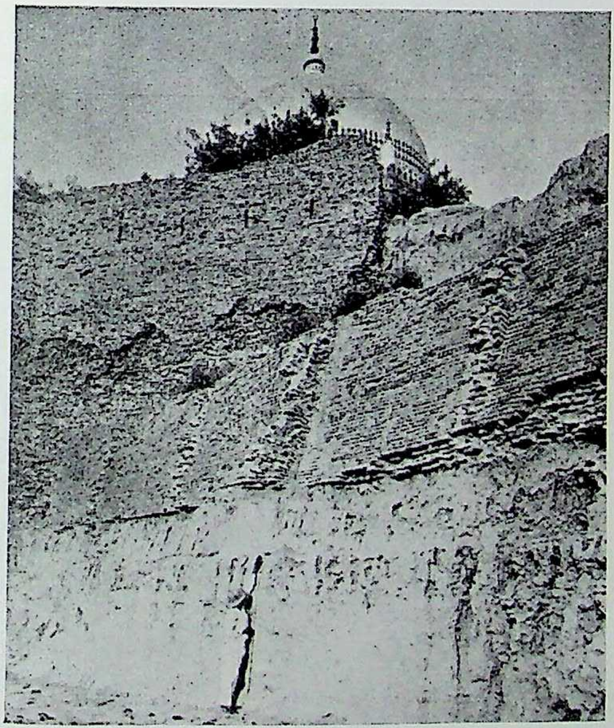


PLATE 6

Old Multan—Portions of the enclosure wall with Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn's tomb in the background.

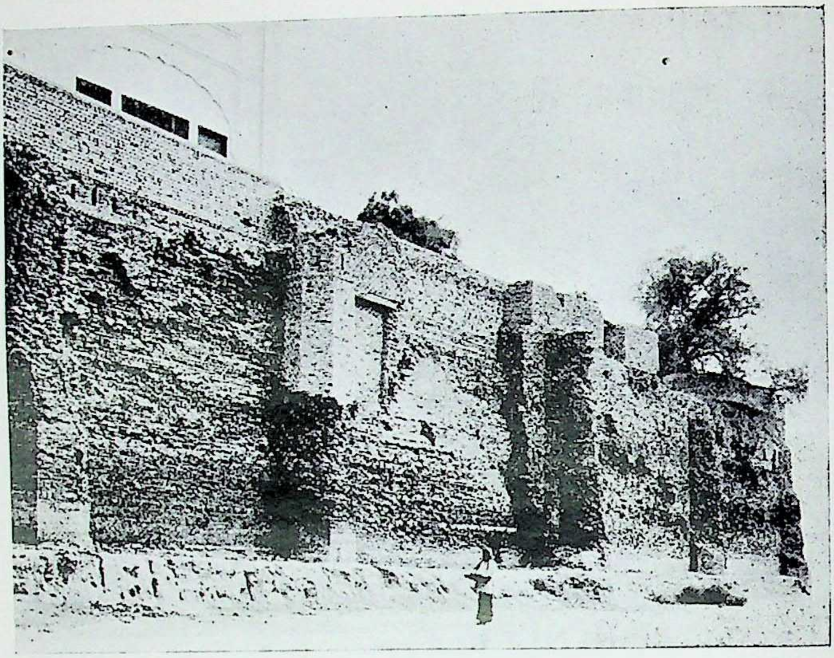


PLATE 7

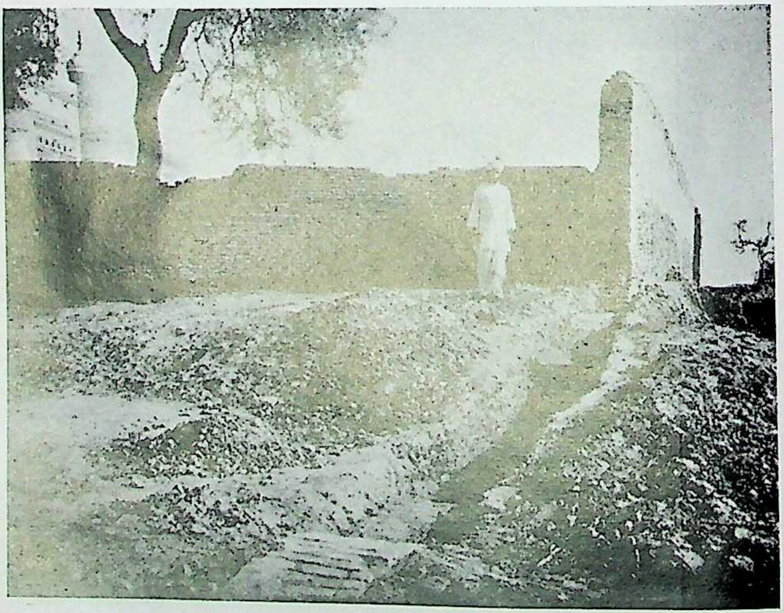


PLATE 8

Old Multan—Portions of the enclosure wall with Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn's tomb in the background.

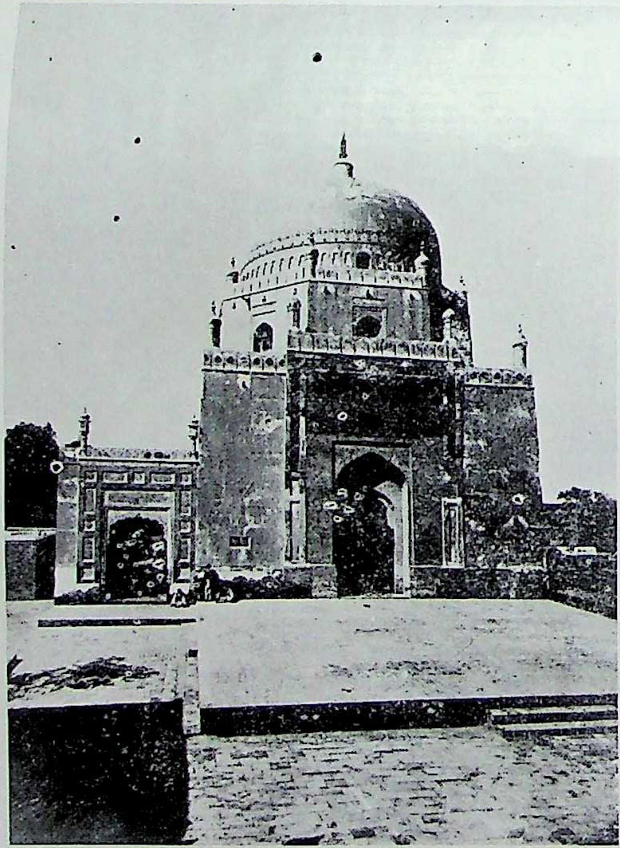


PLATE 9
Mausoleum of Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyā
Quraishī at Multan.

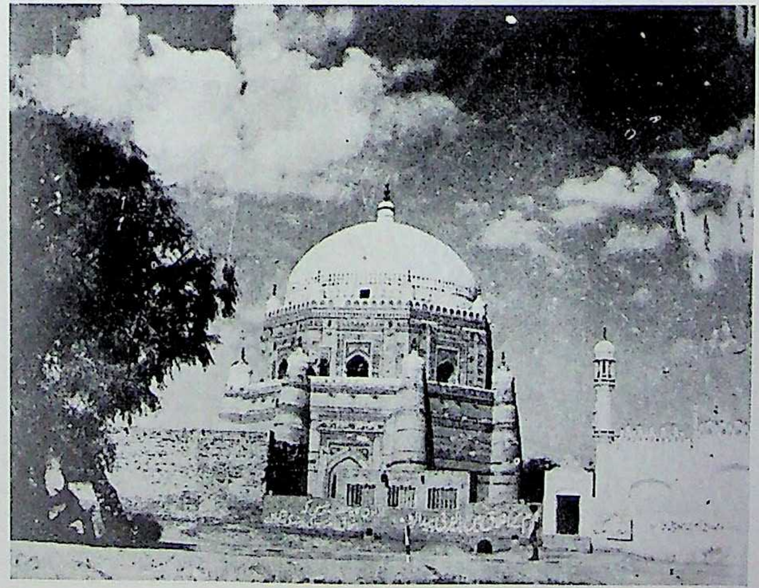


PLATE 10
Mausoleum of Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l Faṭh at Multan

lected his forces and came out of the city to meet the invader. Lacking, however, the courage to fight, he sent Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn Quraishī, descendant and guardian of the shrine of Shaikh al-Islam Zakariyā Quraishī, and Maulānā Buhlūl, a gifted and eloquent speaker, to meet Mirzā Arghūn and persuade him to return. The emissaries had a frank discussion with the Mirzā, but when they came to report back to Sultan Mahmūd, he suddenly died.[55] The sad news demoralised the Langah army and two of their generals, Qawām Khan and Langar Khan, who commanded the vanguard, went over to Mirzā Arghūn and captured some villages of Multan on his behalf. The rest of the army and the nobles who remained loyal to the house of Langāh, returned to Multan and raised to the throne Mahmūd's infant son, under the title of Sultan Ḥusain II. The actual power was, however, wielded by Mahmād's son-in-law, Shaikh Shujā al-Mulk Bukhārī who acted as vazier.

Mirzā Arghūn was quick to take advantage of the confusion that prevailed at Multan and launched an attack on the fort. His opponent, Shujā al-Mulk, was an inexperienced man and knowing that the provisions in the fort would not last more than a month, he shut himself up, disregarding the advice of the commanders who would have preferred to give battle in the open. The rigour of the seige was intensified by Arghūn's forces who guarded all communications with the fort so carefully that no help from outside could reach the besieged. The suffering of the people was further enhanced by the raids which were carried out on private houses by Shujā al-Mulk's men to search out any hidden stores of food and grain. Preferring death to such a miserable existence, many people climbed the wall of the fort and threw themselves down into the moat. The siege dragged on for over an year, and it was towards the close of 932 A.H./August-September, 1526, when Bābur had already overthrown the Lodīs at Panipet, that Ḥusain Arghūn's army entered the fort of Multan and put an end to the Langāh dynasty. The atrocities committed by the victors in Multan have been vividly described by the well known scholar, Maulana Sa'dullah of Lahore, who happened to be among the besieged, together with his father, Maulana Ibrahim Jami' a distinguished theologian of the time. Both of them were taken prisoners after the fall of the fort, but when Mirzā Arghūn heard of their intellectual eminence, he not only set them free but also bestowed robes of honour on them. The unfortunate Langāh Sultan and the minister, Shujā' al-Mulk, were both arrested, and after some time were put to death. The latter, however, suffered severe degradation and tortures.[56]

---

[55] According to *T.A.* and *Firishta*, Langar Khan was generally suspected of having poisoned the Sultan. Mīr Ma'sūm, however, states that Mahmūd s brother-in-law, Shaikh Shujā' Bukhārī, who was guilty of peculation, poisoned him in order to escape punishment. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 154.

Having completed the conquest of Multan, Mirzā Sultan Ḥusain Arghūn entrusted the administration of the territory to his deputy, Khawājah Shams al-Dīn, and hurried back himself to Bhakkar.[57] The strenuous task of resettling the ruined country was, however, undertaken by the Khwājah's chief adviser, Langār Khan, who succeeded with great difficulty in persuading the scattered people to return to Multan. After about a year he went to Bābur and informed him of the state of affairs at Multan. Mirzā Ḥusain Arghūn, on hearing of Langar Khan's departure from Multan, immediately recalled Khawājah Shams al-Dīn to Bhakkar and ceded the territory of Multan to Babur with whom he wanted to maintain friendly and loyal relations. The Mughal emperor conferred it on his son 'Askarī, but later transferred its control to Mirzā Kāmrān.[58] Under Humāyun, Kāmrān held charge of

---

[56] *T.A.*, III, 543, *Ma āthir-i-Rahīmī*, I, 283. "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā' (I.O. 1497), fol. 306b, "T. Haqqī', MS. p. 129. According to *T. Sind* (p. 159), the young Langāh king and his sister were entrusted by Shah Husain to the care of Miskīn Tarkhān who married the lady and brought up the youth as a son. The statement is, however, uncorroborated.

[57] According to Abu'l Faḍl, Mirzā Arghūn entrusted Multan to the charge of Langar Khan. Mīr Ma'sūm, however, states that a trio comprising Dost Mīr Akhur, Khawājah Shams al-Dīn and Langar Khan was appointed to take charge of the administration. See *Ā'īn*, text, I, 555, *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 160, *T.A.*, III, 544, *Firishta*, II, 639.

[58] *Bābur Nāma*, pp. 605, 645, *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 160. Some of the authorities including *T.A.*, *Firishta*, and *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī* have stated that Langar Khan, after some time, ousted Shams al-Dīn and held the sole charge of Multan, until Humāyūn, after his accession in 1530, granted Lahore to Kāmrān who then took possession of Multan by giving Langar Khan in exchange the territory of Bābul and some residential places in Lahore. Bābur's testimony, however, supports Ma'sūm so far as the bestowal of Multan by him on Kāmrān is concerned.

Lahore as well as Multan, but in 1538 when the former arrived at Lahore as a fugitive, both he and Kāmrān were soon driven out by their victorious enemy, Sher Shah. Kāmrān made his way to Kabul through Nowshera, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Multan and Bhakkar along the bank of the Indus. Sher Shah did not pursue the Mughal emperor beyond Khushab where the Balochi leaders, Ismāīl Khan, Fatḥ Khan and Ghazī Khan met him and assured him of their loyalty. He was particularly pleased with Ismāīl Khan who had offered to brand the latter's own body instead of the horses, and gave him the *pargana* of Ninduna (in the Jehlum district). The Sultan might have assigned to him some lands in Multan, had not Shaikh Bāyazīd Kakpūr Sarwānī represented to Sher Shah at Khushab that under the rule of the Langāhs the rent-free lands of his predecessors had been wrongly resumed. As Sher Shah held Shaikh Bāyazīd in great esteem, he ordered all the Sarwānī lands to be restored to the Shaikh. When the latter met him once more during the Ujjain and Sarangpur campaigns, he held out a promise to bestow on the Shaikh the entire territory of Sind and Multan after the fall of Kalinjar.[59] The Sultan did not, however, live long enough to fulfill his promise.

It appears that after Sher Shah had left Khushab, Fatḥ Khan and his followers, taking advantage of the political confusion that prevailed in Multan, re-established their power in many parts of the country and even endangered the communications between Lahore and Delhi. Mīr Chākar Rind had set himself up as an independent ruler at Satgarha (Montgomery district), while a Langāh chief, Bakhshū Khan, had taken possession of the territory around Uch and had built a fort in the vicinity of Multan at the site of a village called Jaunpur. He had raised a considerable force by recruiting men not only from his own tribe of Langāhs, but also from the Nahārs and many other Baloch tribes. When Humāyūn, during his march towards Luhri (Rohri) arrived at Uch, Bakshū sent him boats and provisions, and even though he did not wait on the emperor, yet the latter conferred on him the title of Khan-i-

---

[59] Shaikh Bāyazīd was the grandfather of 'Abbās Sarwānī, author of the "Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī". See New Delhi MS of the work, pp. 64-65.

Jahān and also favoured him with robes, standard and the drum.[60] Bakhshū's power grew rapidly and later in 1542 he made an attempt to extend his possessions by launching an attack on Bhakkar. The time for it was well chosen, for, both Mirzā Sultan Ḥusain Arghūn and his deputy, Sultan Mahmūd Khan, who held charge of Bhakkar, were away and were busy in opposing Humāyūn's advance towards lower Sind. The Langāh army approached the fort of Bhakkar at midnight and set fire to the outer gate facing Sukkar. The people inside were immediately awakened by the noise and tumult, and began to hurl back stones and arrows from the minarets and battlements. In the absence of an effective army which could defend the fort, Sultan Mahmūd's mother acted heroically and ascending the main gate, throw at the enemy a large number of ignited bags and rags, soaked in oil. The persistent shower of flames created alarm and confusion among the Langāh soldiers and they withdrew towards their boats. Bakshū himself did not participate in the nocturnal attack, but he appeared on the scene early in the morning. As he advanced towards the fort with the beat of drums, he was greeted by a volley of gun fire from the defenders and was forced to retreat to Luhri. Finding it, however, impossible to capture the fort, he devastated the area around Bhakkar for three days and thereafter returned to his stronghold near Multan.[61]

Sher Shah at last realised the urgent need of pacifying the country along the western borders of his kingdom, and in 1542 ordered Haibat Khan Niāzī who had been lately appointed governor of the Punjab, to march with a strong army and punish the rebels of Multan. The latter immediately set out for Dipālpur and after securing the submission of Mīr Chākar Rind, went in pursuit of Fatḥ Khan whom he chased up to his mud fort near Karor and Fatḥpur and compelled him to surrender.[62] Fatḥ Khan and his supporter, Hindū Baloch, were both taken prisoners and were later put to death. Bakshū Langāh was also captured, but under Sher Shah's instructions his lands were restored to him on the condition that either he or his son should always remain with Haibat Khan.[63] With the suppression of the leading rebels, the whole area of Multan was quickly tranquillized and Haibat Khan was able to apply himself to the task of rehabilitating the people. He treated them with great kindness and sympathy, and did his best to restore normal life throughout the country. Sher Shah was so pleased with Haibat Khan's work in Multan that he raised the latter to the status of Masnad-i'Ālī, conferred on him the title of A'zam Humāyūn and sent him a red tent as a mark of distinction. The Sultan also told him to continue his efforts to resettle the people and to observe carefully the old custom of the Langāhs according to which land was not measured for the purpose of revenue, but a fixed share of the produce was calimed for the government.[64] After some time A'zam Humāyūn returned to Lahore, leaving Multan in the charge of his deputy, Fatḥ Jang Khan. The latter did splendid work in promoting the welfare of the people, who were believed to have enjoyed much greater prosperity in his days than even in the time of the Langāh rulers. The fort of Multan became a store house of treasure, and the town was connected with Lahore by means of a road which was lined with shady trees. Numerous *serais* (rest houses) were built at regular intervals along the route for the convenience of the travelling public. Since they also served as horse-posts, they were carefully looked after and excellently maintained. Facilities of every kind were provided in them for Hindus as well as Muslims.[65] Fatḥ Jang Khan also founded a new city which he named Shergarh after the Sultan, and where Sher Shah established a mint.[66] Coins were issued from there as early as 1543, and the mint continued functioning under Sher Shah's successors till the time of 'Ādil Shah Sūr.

---

[60] *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* p. 167. Jauhar adds to the gifts four elephants, and Gulbadan a horse instead. See "Tadhkirat al-Wāqi'āt" (I.O. MS 220), fol. 169, *Humāyūn Nāmah* (Lucknow, c. 1929), p. 75. It is surprising, however, that in June, 1542, when Humāyūn again passed through Uch, on his way to Bikaner, Bakhshū refused him any help and told the dealers to withhold all supplies from the Mughals.

[61] *Tārīkh-i-Sind.* pp. 167, 180-181. The date of Bakhshū Langāh's attack on Bhakkar given by Mīr Ma'sūm is September, 1543. This cannot, however, be correct in view of Bakhshu's earlier capture by Haibat Khan at the close of 949 A.H./March, 1543. Ma'sūm's work is greatly defective in the matter of dates, as Haigh rightly observes (*Indus Delta Country,* London, 1894, p. 74), and considering his over-calculation in respect of the dates of other events connected with Multan, it would be concluded that Bhakshu's attack on Bhakkar could not have taken place later than the end of A.D. 1542.

---

[62] Fatḥpur is probably identical with Dera Fatah Khan in *I.G. Atlas*, 34-B2, and is situated near Karor.

[63] 'Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī" (New Delhi MS), p. 71.

[64] This distinction between 'sharing' and 'measuring' was emphasised on account of the fact that elsewhere in the empire Sher Shah had introduced 'measurement' in preference to the earlier systems. To quote 'Abbās Sarwānī:

> *"Ḥukm chunān farmūdah būd kih sāl sāl jarīb kunand, wa az rūi jarīb zar bigīrand.....Qabl azo jarīb sāl sāl nabūd."*

In contrast to this, the instructions about Multan stated:

> *"'Aml-i-ma'mūl-i-Langāh nigah dārad. Jarīb na-kunand, wa ḥissah az ghallah bigīrand".*

See "Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī" (New Delhi MS), pp. 71, 81.

A *farman* of Sher Shah regarding 'measurement' was also described by Ḥasan Alī Khan in the "Tārīkh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shāhī", the original Persian text of which has, unfortunately, been lost. An English translation of some extracts, made by Dr. R. P. Tripathi, was published in the *Med. Ind. Qrtly.*, I/i, 1950, p. 62.

A further discussion of the methods and problems of revenue assessment of this period will be found in I.H. Qureshi's *Admn. of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Karachi, 1958) pp. 108, 118, and Dr. Imām ud-Dīn's article on "Jagir system in Afghan India' in the *Islamic Culture*, 35/iv, 1961, pp. 262-263.

A'zam Humāyūn Niāzī continued to hold the governorship of the Punjab and formal control of Multan during the rest of Sher Shah's reign. He was the strongest of the Afghan nobles and had a force of 30,000 horsemen stationed near Rohtas.[67] Sher Shah had disapproved of A'zam Humāyūn's cruel action in treacherously killing 900 Sambhals of Roh, and he might have removed the latter from the office of governor had he not suddenly died in 1545. Under Islam Shah, A'zam Humāyūn was accused of harbouring the disaffected nobles who had rebelled against the Sultan and were planning his overthrow. When the Sultan marched towards Lahore, A'zam Humāyūn openly revolted and organized a force in collaboration with other nobles, and encountered the royal troops near Ambala. After suffering two severe defeats, he fled to Rajauri in Kashmir. Islam Shah gave him a hot chase, but when he was at last about to be reconciled with the Sultan, the Kashmirīs suddenly turned against him and both he and his wife, Bībī Rābi'ah, died fighting in a battle near the village of Buzurg.[68]

---

[65] Separate accommodation for members of the two communities had been arranged. See "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī (B.M. MS), p. 97, and "Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī' (New Delhi MS), p. 83. See also *Epig. Ino-Moslemica,* 1927-28, p. 12, Insc. IX, referring to the ruins of a mosque which was built by Sher Shah in Multan.

[66] The name of the place inscribed on the coins is Sher Gadh 'urf Shiqq-i-Bakar. 'Urf means 'also known as' or 'alias'. This has led Wright to locate it at Bhakkar in Sind, and he has shown it on the maps appended to his two works, *Coins & Metrology*...and *Cat. Coins Calcutta,* II, by putting Shergadh in brackets just below Bhakkar and near Kairpur. Similarly Nevill in his article on "Mint towns of the Delhi Sultans" in *JASB,* 1921, p. 128, describes it as "The stronghold of Bakar or Bhakkar on the Indus". This cannot, however, be correct as Bhakkar remained the stronghold of Mirza Sultan Hussain Arghun till his death in 1555. The name Shiqqi-Bakar, inscribed on the coins, relates therefore, to another place, and most probably it is Bhakkar in the present Mianwali district of West Pakistan, and which in those days lay within the jurisdiction of Multan. See H. N. Wright, *Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi,* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 271, 331, 368, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian museum, Calcutta* (Oxford, 1907), II, 90, 113, 273. See also Hodivala's *Studies in Indo-Muslim History,* II, 180, for his comment on Qanungo's reading of the name of the place as Sakkar-Bakkar instead of Shiqq-i-Bakar. A comprehensive account of old Bhakkar near Sakkar will be found in J. Abbott's *Sind*...(Oxford, 1924), pp. 59-64.

The conquest of Multan and its integration with the second Afghan empire in India was an outstanding achievement of Sher Shah Sūr whose successors successfully held it till the re-establishment of Mughal rule in 1555. Thereafter it formed an important province of Akbar's empire, comprising three *Sarkars* of 88 *Parganahs.*[69]

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Acknowledgments and thanks are due to the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, for the photographs appearing at plates 1-9, and to Dr. Aijaz Hassan Quraishi, Lecturer, Department of History, Panjab University, Lahore, (West Pakistan), for the photograph of Shaikh Rukn al-Din's mausoleum, appearing at plate 10.

---

[67] "Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shahi" (New Delhi MS), p. 89.
The effective charge of the areas of Multan and Dipalpur continued to be held by Fath Jang Khan. Ibid., p. 82.

[68] "Da ūdi", Elliot IV, 497.

[69] *Ā īn-i-Akbarī,* text, I, 555.

Ptolemy and Western India

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORE

In the previous issue of this Journal (XXXIX. Part II. No. 116, August 1961, pp. 211-223), we described the Oceanic Frontier of Karnāṭaka. And in doing so, the evidence of the Egyptian geographer named Ptolemy was cited in order to locate the region where beryls were produced. In this article we shall see in detail the historico-geographical importance of that foreign writer, so far as the central part of Western India is concerned.

Ptolemy (properly known as Klaudios Ptolemaios) was a celebrated astronomer, geographer, mathematician, and a native of Egypt, who lived at Alexandria in the first half of the second century A.D. His "Geography" (*Geographike Syntaxis*) was an exhaustive geographical and historical book which maintained its ground as an authoritative work till the commencement of the maritime discoveries in the fifteenth century.[1] There can be no doubt that this work was of great scientific value; but it must be admitted that it contains serious errors which have prevented its being reckoned as a work of infallible authenticity. These errors relate to the wrong measurements of the degrees of latitude and longitude, the calculation of the longitudes from only eastwards, the second hand information which the author received from the reports of travellers and navigators, from works of previous writers, and from Indian sources on which he based his own great work, and, consequently, the utterly distorted shape of India which he has pictured in his work wherein he practically denies anything like an Indian peninsula. This will be evident when we note that he places Cape Comorin (called by him Cape Komoria) only 4° South of Barygaza (Bhroach), and when he makes Ceylon (called by him Taprabone) appear fourteen times larger than its normal size, and lying more than 2° south of the equator.[2] This does not mean, however, that we could dispense with Ptolemy's great work altogether; on the other hand, since it is the only scientific compendium available till that time, it is necessary that we should adjudge his results with the historical date available, especially in the matter of identifying the centres of inland and foreign trade in Karnāṭaka.

---

[1] Sastri, S. M., *McCrindle's Ancient India as described in Ptolemy* Intr., pp. XIII-XIV (Calcutta, 1927).

But here our difficulty is heightened not so much by the erroneous locations of latitudinal and longitudinal degrees and of places by Ptolemy as by the manner in which his assertions have been interpreted by modern Western, and by some Indian, scholars. The first point we may note in the writings of these scholars is the total neglect of that part of the Indian coast which is the western region of Karnāṭaka. The scholars, who have commented on Ptolemy's *Geography,* have either nothing to say about it, or, if at all they have a few identifications to make, to pass on directly from Chaul to Muziris on the Kerala coast, as if there existed nothing like a coast line of ancient Karnāṭaka at all! Secondly, their writtings are marred by a blind adherence to modern nomenclature, particularly when it refers to a region styled by Ptolemy as Male which is uniformly assumed to be nothing but Malabar! Thirdly, the modern elucidations of Ptolemy's *Geography* contain endless speculations and conjectures which hinder rather than help the historian. Thus, for instance, Warmington asserts that "We are tempted to conjecture that by agreement the Cheras monopolized pepper, the Pandyas pearls, and the Cholas beryls and fine muslin."[3] To assert that the beryls of Punnṭāa were sent to Naura which some have imagined to be Cananore, and thence to Muziris,[4] is altogether gratuitous. Equally imaginary is the statement that "As far as we can tell, the pirates of South Konkan and Canara were Tamils of the Satyaputra kingdom, not so much frequented by the Greeks for commerce."[5] No less conjectural and incorrect is the assertion that the Chera kingdom extended to the Karwar point in North Kanara.[6] And, finally, the writings of modern historians are rendered unreliable by the speculations they have indulged in while describing the trade routes from Egypt to the Western coast of India.[7]

---

[2] Sastri, *ibid.*, pp. XIX-XX.

[3] Warmington, E. H., *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 114 (Cambridge, 1928).

[4] Warmington *ibid.*, p. 251.

[5] Warmington, *ibid.*, p. 57.

[6] Warmington, *ibid.*, p. 58.

We are, therefore, faced with the double difficulty of having before us a great geographer like Ptolemy, who is otherwise scientific but is incorrect in many fundamental details, and of having to refer to the writings of modern scholars whose speculations render their works somewhat unreliable. This is particularly true when we attempt to identify the inland and coastal towns of ancient Karnāṭaka. In the absence of any authentic source of information purely on the Indian side, and hailing from the Western coast of India pertaining to this aspect of the question, we should have some criteria by our side in order to assess the statements of western geographers like Ptolemy, and to reconstruct the ancient geography of this part of India. These criteria, for want of better standards of judgment, may be grouped thus—Firstly, the names given by Ptolemy should conform, on the whole, to the nomenclature of towns as they prevailed in ancient Karnāṭaka. Secondly, where an identification has been attempted, in the absence of any authentic source of information, the antiquity of a trade centre is to be determined by the finds of an archaic nature that may have been discovered in that place or in its neighbourhood. And, thirdly, epigraphic proof of a later age may be adduced in support of the commercial importance of a centre concerning which nothing is known from earlier sources. In other words, while the first criterion helps us to establish a sort of a linguistic affinity in the nomenclature as given by Ptolemy and as obtainable in ancient Karnāṭaka, the second and third criteria enable us to formulate an historical basis for establishing the antiquity of a trade centre on the strength of later historical evidence.

There cannot be any doubt that in the first two centuries of the Christian era, the Western regions of India comprising Konkan and Karnāṭaka were very wealthy and prosperous. It has been rightly surmised by James Campbell that the great wealth of this vast region during the rule of Śātakarṇis is proved by the many wonderful remains, the Kanheri caves in Salsette, the Nasik caves on the route through the Tal Pass, the works on the Nana Pass, the Bhedsa, Bhaja, Karle, and Kondane caves along the Bhor Pass route, the stupa at Sopara, and the remains at Elephanta and Kalyan. These remains prove the existence of great wealth among the rulers and the traders, and show that the architects and sculptors were men of skill. It has been surmised by the same scholar that the chief cause of the great wealth of this region was the power of the rulers which stretched across the southern peninsula from the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa, and enabled them to bring to the Thana ports not merely the local inland trade but the rich products of the eastern coast as well.[8]

---

[7] Warmington, *ibid.*, pp. 131-132. Read also *Thana Gazetteer II* in the *Bombay Gaz. Series*, p. 415, and *ibid.* n. (3).

Ptolemy has given the names of the inland and coastal trade centres of this region which may now be identified. His remarks apply to the conditions as they prevailed in the first half of the second century A.D. After describing the Gulf of Barygaza (Bhroach), the great geographer narrates the following in regard to a country called "Ariake Sadinon" in which he mentions the following places one after another, thus: Soupara; Mouth of the River Goaris; Dounga; Mouth of the River Benda; Simylla; a mart and a cape; Hippakoura; and Balipatna.[9] Of these names Ariake was not Mahārāṣṭra, as asserted by some,[10] since in the second century A.D. there is no evidence of that region's being called by the name Mahārāṣṭra,—a name which figures centuries later, and more particularly with its association with the Marathas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,—but as James Campbell rightly maintained, North Konkan.[11] Soupara was evidently Surpara, six miles north of Bassein, as originally identified by Burgess.[12] Dounga which is next mentioned and which was identified by Campbell with Dugad, ten miles south of Bhiwindi,[13] is evidently the Dangs which forest region lies to the north of

---

[8] *Thana Gaz.* II, p. 412. I cannot subscribe to the view of Campbell that the architects and sculptors were perhaps foreigners. On the trade under the Śātakarnis, read also *Hist. of Guj.* (*Bom. Gaz.* II), pp. 539-541.

[9] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[10] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 39. I have discussed the use of the word Mahārāṣṭra in my paper on the *Sābarmati in the Padma Purāṇa* which will be published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, 1962.

[11] *Hist. of Guj.*, pp. 540, 544, 546.

[12] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[13] *Hist of Guj.*, p. 540.

Surat. But then we have to explain why Ptolemy locates it after the mouth of the river Goaris, which is far down in the south. This may have been due to the secondhand information which he might have received from Greek and Egyptian travellers, and the consequent confusion that may have been caused in his mind about the exact location of places which he had never visited. At any rate the word Dounga appears very near the word Dangs which, we may incidentally may, remained somewhat conspicuous even in the tenth and fourteenth centuries A.D., when Rashīd-ud-Dīn (.D. 1310), in his translation of Al Biruni's narrative (A.D. 970-1031), noted the Dangs as the habitat of the *sarva* (*śarabha*?), an animal resembling the buffalo but larger than a rhinoceros, with a small trunk and two big horns with which it attacked and destroyed elephants.[14] But in what manner the Dangs could figure in the list of commercial centres of a foreign geographer in the second century A.D., cannot be understood except on the supposition that it might have been a centre of forest produce. It is not unlikely that the Dangs, which was the fief of the ancient Bhil tribal chieftains,[15] might have played a significant part in the annals of the second century A.D. concerning which we know nothing at present.

Next to Dounga Ptolemy mentions the mouth of the River Benda. Yule identified the straits of the Goaris and the Benda with Salsette and Bombay, the names Goaris and Benda, according to him, standing for the Godāvarī and the Bhīma.[16] James Campbell identified Goaris with the river Vaitaraṇā, because Gore is situated upon it, and the Benda with the Bhiwiṇḍī river.[17] While this is more plausible in the sense that the Bhiwiṇḍī creek is very near Bassein, six miles north of which is Sopara, it cannot be understood how two contiguous ports-Soupara and the mouth of Goaris—could have been so important as to have attracted the attention of the Egyptian geographer. We admit that there is nothing improbable in two trade centres lying very near each other becoming prominent. But the point that has yet to be explained is that, if we equate Goaris with the Vaitaraṇā, and the Benda with the Bhiwiṇḍī river,—which incidentally we may note were the boundaries of the Daman-Bassein Portuguese territory in the early seventeenth century,[18]—we have not only to explain why Ptolemy located Dounga after the river Goaris—when it is really far to its north-east,—but also to explain why he is silent about quite a number of coastal centres from Daman to Bassein. To this it may be answered that these ports never became prominent in the age of Ptolemy. Without discussing this point further, we may now pass on to the mouth of the river Benda which is not identifiable. The name Benda, however, strongly suggests the Veṇṇā which is one of the most important tributaries of the Kṛṣṇā, also called Yeṇṇa, which joins the Kṛṣṇā at Sangam-Māhuḷi, three miles east of Sātāra.[19] But the difficulty here is that neither the Veṇṇā nor the Kṛṣṇā has its mouth on the western coast of Karnāṭaka, since the Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā flows from the west to the east coast.

---

[14] Elliot—Dawson, *History of India as Told by her own Historians* I., p. 67; *Hist of Guj., op. cit.*, p. 508.

[15] *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I., p. 632.

[16] Cited by Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

[17] *Hist of Guj.* pp. 540, 542.

Simylla which is mentioned next to the mouth of the river Benda is described as a mart and a cape. It has been correctly identified by Yule with Chaul[20] which in its form of Saimur has figured conspicuously in the annals of the Arab geographers of the tenth century A.D. and after.[21] Next to Simylla is mentioned Hippokoura which Bhagawanlal Indraji identified with Ghodbunder (Horse-port), in the Kolaba district; while Yule had earlier identified it with Kuḍā near Rājāpur (Ratnagiri district).[22] Campbell identified it with Ghodegaon (Horse-village) in the Kolaba district.[23] Its identification is made still more difficult because of the existence of another Hippokoura which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of Balekorus in the interior.[24] It is maintained by some that the word Hippokoura "may be a Greek translation (in whole or in part) of the native name of the place".[25] Although it cannot be understood why Ptolemy should have chosen one indigenous name which he rendered into Greek, while he took quite a number of other names in their native setting without attempting to translate them, yet even if we accept, for argument's sake, that the above assumption of that word being a Greek rendering as correct, we could equate Hippokoura (Horse-town),—which evidently is the basis of the identification of Yule and Indraji,—with the name of a village which seems nearest to the Greek rendering mentioned above. For instance, in about A.D. 1271, as is related in a stone inscription discovered at Kuduregunḍi (Horse-pit), Hassan taluka, Mysore State, of the reign of the Hoysala monarch Narasimha III (A.D. 1254-1291),[26] a person named Gopayya granted for the services of the god Somanatha the customs dues on arecanut and grains at Kuduregunḍi.[27] The fact that this centre had sufficient customs dues (*sunka*) on both arecanuts and grains suggests that it was of some consequence in that age. Before citing further evidence in support of our assumption that Kuduregunḍi was more than an ordinary village, we may note that, on the analogy of Ānegunḍi, more commonly known as Anegondi, the precursor of the famous city of Hampe (Vijayanagara), Kuduregunḍi was not necessarily a "Horse-Pit", as the word would suggest, but a place of some significance. The copper plate grant discovered in the same village, and dated A.D. 1524 of the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great of Vijayanagara, is of some interest in this connection. In this official record the Vijayanagara monarch granted in that year the village of Muttati (location specified) to a learned Brahman named Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita (descent stated). While describing the geographical boundaries of the gift, the record relates that Kuduregunḍi was a famous place (*Kuduregunḍi-iti vikhyāta simād*).[28] We are in the dark as to the claims of this place for recognition; but it is not unreasonable to presume that it was considered as a place of much consequence in A.D. 1524, either because of its antiquity or because of its being important for some reason or other in that year. Since the inscription under review does not suggest the latter, we can only suppose that Kuduregunḍi had already become prominent as a place of antiquity. If this supposition is admitted, Kuduregundi is the nearest equivalent to the Horse-town or Hippokoura of Ptolemy. The only objection that may be raised against this identification is that it is far too removed in the south from its immediate predecessor Chaul; and that it cannot be said to have been a coastal town.

---

[18] *Bom. Gaz.* II., p. 54. On the antiquity of the river Vaitaraṇā, read D'Cunha, *Chaul*, pp. 122-123.

[19] *Bom. Gaz.* II., p. 334, n. (2).

[20] Cited in Sastri *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[21] *Hist of Guj.*, pp. 516-517.

[22] Cited in Sastri, *ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

[23] *Hist of Guj.*, p. 540. On p. 541 it is identified with Hippargi in the the Sindagi taluka of the Bijapur district.

[24] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 45.

[25] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 44.

---

[26] Rice, Lewis, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 97.

[27] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V. *Hn.* 91, p. 29. See *ibid.*, p. 62, note (1), transliteration, for a note on the date of the record.

[28] *Ep. Car.* V. Hn. 94, p. 29; p. 63, transl.

This uncertainty does not exist with the next name in the list of Ptolemy, Baltipatna called by the anonymous author of the *Periplus,* Palaipotamai (first century A.D.). Yule identified it with Daibal; Fro Paolino, with Balerpatam, the residence of the king of Cananore in Malabar; and James Campbell, with the village of Pali at the top of the Nagotna river.[29] These identifications have proved to be unsatisfactory. Baltipatna may be identified with Valipaṭṇa which is described as a great stronghold founded by Dhammiyara, who succeeded Saṇaphulla, the founder of the Śilahāra royal house of South Konkan. If we agree with Fleet in assigning to Saṇaphulla the date A.D. 783, and allot a period of twenty-five years to him, we reach A.D. 808 as the date of Dhammiyara.[30] Since in another record the great stronghold is described as being on the sea coast,[31] we may perhaps have to find its location near Goa which was always included in Konkan, and, therefore, in the larger province of Karnāṭaka.[32]

Before we proceed further with the identification of other trade centres both on the coast and in the interior of Karnāṭaka, we may observe that of the above seven centres mentioned by Ptolemy, at least one, Balipatna or Valipatna, has an undoubted Dravidian touch about it. This fact may be borne in mind in our examination of the other centres mentioned by that foreign geographer in a later context while describing again Ariake but this time as a land of pirates. The centres mentioned in this connection are the following: Mandagara; Byzanteion; Khersonesos; Armagara; mouth of the river Nagouna; and Nitria, a mart.[33] It has been assumed both by Western and Indian scholars that the so-called pirates mentioned by Ptolemy were the oceanic freebooters of the Konkan coast which is supposed to have extended from Chaul to Mangalore.[34] But, as pointed out by Campbell, Ptolemy does not mention pirates on the Konkan coast. According to Campbell, the words Andron Peiraton used by Ptolemy refer to the Āndhrabhrityas.[35] Whatever the difficulty might be in the interpretation of the words *Andron Peiraton,* there cannot be any doubt that, while describing further Ariake, Ptolemy mentions the centres of trade given above. Of these Mandagara has been variously identified with Mandagarh or Mandangadh, a fort about twelve miles inland from Bankut to its south, with Māndlā on the north of the Sāvitrī river, opposite Bankūt, now known as Kolmāṇḍlā or Bāgmaṇḍla.[36] Khersonesos is likewise unsuccessfully identified with the peninsula near Goa;[37] while Armagara has not been identified except as being near the mouth of the river Nanagouna,[38] or, as Campbell suggested, as being Cape Ramas in the Portuguese territory.[39] Only two names appear to be capable of identification-Byzanteion and Nitria. The former has been identified by some with Vijayadurga, south of the Vaghotan river in Ratnagiri,[40] which has, however, never figured in records discovered till now; by some others (Campbell) with Chiplun;[41] and by others (Bhandarkar) with Vaijayanti or Jayantipura or Banavāsi, in the North Kanara district.[42] Ptolemy's enumeration, however, seems to imply that Byzanteion was on the coast, and not in the interior. The identification of Byzanteion with Vaijayanti or Banavāsi which lies far inland, cannot be reconciled with his statement that it was seat of pirates. We have, therefore, to see whether there was any place of that name on the western coast. While discussing this problem, Bühler had maintained, on the strength of the *St. Petersburg Dictionary,* that Vaijayanti occurred both in Brahmanical and Jaina books as the name of a town on the coast of Konkan. Bühler, therefore, identified Ptolemy's Byzanteion with this unlocated coastal city of Vijayantī.[43] Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1039) speaks of Banavāsi itself as being on the coast,[44] as if lending support to the location of Vaijayanti on the coast. In a comprehensive note on the antiquity of Banavāsi, Fleet rejected this identification of Vaijayanti on the coast with Banavāsi and with Ptolemy's Byzanteion.[45] In this connection we may recollect the fact that Ptolemy's Byzanteion was a pirate stronghold, and that he distinctly mentions in a later context, while describing the cities between the Benda and Pseudostoms, another city called Banaousei. This city he locates immediately after another inland city called Petrigala concerning which we shall comment later on. We may, therefore, assume that Ptolemy was aware of Banavasi as distinct from Vaijayanti. This leads us to the conclusion that, when he mentioned Byzanteion he may have had a coastal town called Vaijayantī in mind. We have to see whether there was a coastal town of that name at all which could be made to agree with his Byzanteion. We have shown elsewhere that there was, indeed, a Jayantipura, otherwise called Jayantikā, or Jayantīdvīpa, on the coast of Tuḷuva, and that it was later on called Kundāpur in the modern South Kanara district.[46] It is not improbable that it was this town of Jayantipura which Ptolemy meant when he wrote that it was a nest of pirates.

---

[29] Yate and Paolino cited in Sastri, *op. cit.,* p. 45; *Hist. of Guj.,* p. 540.
[30] Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* p. 537.
[31] *Epigraphia Indica.* III, p. 294. n. (6); Fleet, *ibid.,* p. 537, n. (1).
[32] Fleet, *ibid.,* p. 538.
[33] Sastri, *ibid.,* p. 45.

---

[34] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[35] *Thana Gaz.* II, p. 415, n. (2); Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 46.

[36] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 451; Bhandarkar, R. G., *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 174; *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 383. See also Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 47; Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 201.

[37] *Hist. of Guj.*, pp. 541, 546.

[38] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[39] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 542.

[40] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 175. See also Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 175.

[41] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541.

[42] Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, p. 174; *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 546.

We may now turn to the other town called Nitria by Ptolemy. According to him it was the southernmost stronghold of the pirates. It has been identified with Mangalore.[47] The justification of this identification seems to be in the fact that Mangalore lies on the backwaters of two rivers, one of which the Netrāvatī is more important than the other (the Gurpur) river. It was probably the Netrāvatī river which Ptolemy had in mind when he wrote its shortened form of Nitria.

---

[43] Bühler, George, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 28, n. (2).

[44] Al Biruni's *India*, II, p. 202 (Sachau's Trans.).

[45] Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 278, n. (2) where Al Biruni and Bühler are cited.

[46] Saletore, B. A. *Ancient Karnataka*, I. *History of Tuluva*, p. 56, and *ibid.*, n. (2) for further references. Jayantipura was, we may add, the capital of the later Western Cālukya ruler Tribhuvanamalla Deva from A.D. 1122 to A.D. 1126 (*South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, P. I, Nos. 204, 207, 208, 209, 212, pp. 203-213.) The reference here was obviously to Banavāsi, which was, as is well known, also called Jayantipura.

[47] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

From the above discussion of the names of coastal places as given by Ptolemy, the following conclusions may be drawn; Firstly, that at least two towns may definitely be located as having been on the western coast—Vaijayantī and Mangalore or Nitria; and, secondly, that the coast from somewhere near the Ratnāgiri district down to Mangalore was noted for Indian maritime adventures, whom Ptolemy, like all Western travellers and geographers, styles as pirates.

Before we proceed further with the towns mentioned by Ptolemy in what he calls Ariake, it may not be out of place to note the location of an important town which Ptolemy mentions in a rather strange geographical location. While referring to the Gangetic plains, Ptolemy refers to a people thus—"The parts under the range of Adeisathros as far as the Araurаïoi are occupied by the Badiamioi with this city Tathilba".[48] Badiamioi is alleged to be the same as Bādāmi in the Bijapur district.[49] There is no doubt that this identification satisfies the first of the three criteria we have given above, and also the third one relating to the importance of the place in later history. Bādāmi (Vātāpi) springs into fame in the middle of the sixth century A.D. with its conquest by the early Cālukya king Pulikeśin I.[50] This was in A.D. 543 when that ruler conquered "the best hill of Vātāpi" (Bādāmi), and converted it into an impregnable fortress, as is related in a stone inscription discovered on that hill itself.[51] With the establishment of the Cālukya power at Bādāmi opens a great period of political and cultural development in the history of Western India. It is evident that to have been the best of hills in the middle of the sixth century A.D. it must have had an existence of an important political centre prior to that date. In other words, we have to assume that Vātāpi's history goes back to one or two centuries before the date of its conquest by king Pulikeśin I. Whlie this establishes its antiquity, there are certain considerations which come in the way of its identification with the town called Badiomaioi by Ptolemy. Firstly, Ptolemy does not mention a city called Badiamoioi but only a people, and explicity informs us that they had a city called Tathilba which is not identifiable. Therefore, it seems as if we are not justified in identifying a people with a city. As against this it may be argued that Ptolemy is accustomed to cause this confusion which, for instance, he has made when he wrote about Oloikhora and Pounnata. Both these are not the names of cities but of kingdoms which had their capitals with different names, Udayāvara in the case of Oloikhara, and Kittūr in the case of Punnāṭa.[52] It is possible, therefore, that in the case of Badiamaioi he likewise confounded a people with their city. Secondly, Ptolemy locates Badiamaioi almost in the Gangetic valley where we cannot possibly locate Bādāmi. This difficulty comes seriously in our way of accepting the identification unless we again have recourse to take shelter behind Ptolemy's confirmed confusion in regard to many places, particularly in regard to his geographical accuracy which mars his narrative. And thirdly, it has been suggested that Vātāpi seems to have been the earlier variant of Bādāmi.[53] We are faced here with the same difficulty which we have discussed elsewhere while discussing the identification of Paṭṭadakal, another famous town of Karnāṭaka. But it cannot be made out whether we have to take the Sanskritized form Vātāpi or the Kannada form Bādāmi as the earlier one. In all likelihood the Prakrit form Bādāvi seems to have been the earliest variant of the name.[54]

---

[48] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[49] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 171; Panchamukhi, R. S., *The Digest of Annual Report on Kaṇnada Research in Bombay Province* for the year 1940-1941, pp. 7, 9; *Report for 1941-46*, p. 47.

[50] On the date of Pulikeśin I, read Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 63.

[51] Panchamukhi, *Digest for 1940-41*, p. 9. Fleet had merely affirmed that the country around Bādāmi was conquered by Pulikeśin I. (Fleet, *DKD.*, pp. 335, 344).

Reverting to the further description of Ariake by Ptolemy, we find that geographer gives an interesting list of inland cities and villages which he located to the west of the Benda thus: Malippala; Sarisabis; Tagara; Baithan, the royal seat of Siro Ptolemaios or Polemaios; Deopali or Deopala; Gamaliba; and Omenagara. Immediately afterwards, Ptolemy writes that between the

---

[52] On Udayāvara, read Saletore, B. A., *Hist. of Tul.*, p. 62ff; on Punnāṭa read Saletore, B.A., *The Ancient Kingdom of Punnata,* in the *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 303-317.

[53] Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 344.

[54] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 280, n. (3).

Benda and Pseudostomos were the following cities: Nagarouris (or Nagarouraris); Tabaso; Inde; Tiripangalida; Hippokoura, the royal seat of Baleokouros; Soubouttou; Sirimaliga; Kalligeris; Modogoulla; Patiragala; and Banaouasei.[55]

The above cities and towns mentioned by Ptolemy may now be identified. We shall first take those which are situated "to the west of the Benda." Of these the first two Malippala and Sarisabis are not identifiable. The third centre called Tagara has been variously identified by scholars thus—by Wilfred and others, with Devagardh near Daulatabad; by Bhagavanlal Indraji, with Junnar; by Yule, with Kulbarga (Gulbarga); by Grant Duff, with a place near Bhir on the Godavari; by R. G. Bhandarkar and James Campbell, with Terur or Tarur or Dharur in the Hyderabad State; and by Fleet, first with Kolhapur, and later on, with Ter.[56] Wherever it might have been located, it was definitely within the limits of ancient Karnāṭaka. Its history and location we shall discuss in another paper.

It is easier to identify the next centre called Baithan. This has rightly been identified by scholars with Paithan or Pratiṣthāna on the Godāvarī. It was the capital of king Śalivāhana. Ptolemy's version of the name in the form of Siri Ptolemaiois or Siri Polemaiois has been interpreted by scholars to mean Siri Pulumayi, one of the so-called Āndhrabhritya rulers.[57]

The next centre mentioned by Ptolemy is called Deopali or Deopala. The former variant clearly suggests a Kannaḍa word (Devapalli, God's Village). It has been identified with Devagar[58] which would mean "God's Fort". This identifiaction would be as unsatisfactory as, for example, the one which would equate Deopali with Devagiri or Daulatabad.[59] In this connection we may recall one of the three criteria we have mentioned above, *viz.*, that the name of the town or city as given by Ptolemy should conform in some measure to the nomenclature as it prevailed in ancient Karnāṭaka. Judged from this standpoint, two places appear similar to the one mentioned by Ptolemy. These are Deoli and Deuru or Dehuru or Devapura. Of these we may dispense with the first Deoli which, inspite of its close resemblance to the name Deopali as given by Ptolemy, and also in spite of the fact that an important copper plate grant dated A.D. 940 of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III was found there, fails to satisfy us because of its situation in the far off district of Wardha in Nagpur[60] which precludes its being accepted as the one that could be equated with the Deopali of Ptolemy. We have, therefore, to look for a Devapalli in the region of Karnāṭaka proper. There are two places which satisfy the first criterion of a similarity in name—Deoli, a suburb of Ahmednagar,[61] and Deūru, Deūr, Devapura. But about the antiquity of Deoli no details are forthcoming, while Deūru in the Sindgi taluka of the Bijapur district satisfies the third criterion mentioned above, *viz.*, that relating to its importance in later history. It figures in stone inscriptions which range from A.D. 1029 to A.D. 1196.[62]

---

[55] Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. **175-176.**

[56] Sastri, of *ibid.*, p. 179. On Fleet's identification, read *DKD.*, p. 538, n. (8); *J.R.A.S., for 1901*, pp. 537-552. See also James Campbell, *Bom. Gaz.* XV, p. 187; H. Cousens, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report of the Western Circle*, for 1902-1903, p. 195; *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 82; XIII, p. 284.

[57] Bhandarkar, R. G., *E.H.D.*, pp. 143, 158, 166; Campbell, *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541; see also Sastri, *op cit.*, p. 145. I have shown elsewhere that Paithan was the capital of the Śatakarni king Śālivāhana. Read my *Karnataka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, (Dharwar, 1957).

[58] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 178.

Below Deopale or Deopala is placed by Ptolemy Gamaliba which cannot be identified; and below Gamaliba is located Omenagara. Campbell had identified it with Junnar[63] but it is more justifiable to identify it with Hūvinanagara or Hūvinabage or Pūvinabāge near Rāyabag in the Kolhapur State. It figures in the records of the twelfth century A.D., of the Western Calukya rulers of Kalyan, as a *ghaṭika-mahā-nagara* or a Great University City.[64]

---

[59] Sastri, *ibid.*

[60] Fleet, *DKD.*, pp. 304, n. (4), 414, 416, n. (4), 417-419, n. (1), 420, 422.

[61] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541.

[62] Fleet, *DKD.*, pp. 440, n. (5), 521, n. (5); Kundanagar, K. G., *Inscriptions in North Karnatak and the Kolhapur State*, pp. x, 161 (trans.), 98 (text); Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25 of the *Inscriptions in the Bombay-Karnataka for 1936-37* (in the *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle* for 1936-1937).

[63] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541.

[64] Panchamukhi, *Progress Report for 1941-1946*, p. 30. I am unable to trace the records of the Western Cālukyas referred to on this page of this book.

वाचनालय, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

A damaged stone inscription found in Rāyabag itself, and dated in the 51st Cālukya-Vikrama era, but assignable to A.D. 1127, relates that a certain *arasa* or feudatory (whose name is effaced in the record), had acquired free possession of the *ghaṭika-mahā-nagara* at Hūvinabāge, before making a specified grant. The monarch in the record is merely mentioned by the general title of Bhulokamalla.[65] But since this title was assumed only by the Westren Cālukya ruler Someśvara III, Sarvajña, who ruled from A.D. 1126 till 1138,[66] this record has to be assigned to the times of that monarch. That Hūvinabāge could boast of excellent temple architects is proved by another stone inscription which informs us that the elaborately sculptured temple of the god Kamala Nārāyaṇa and of the goddess Mahālakṣmī, which Kamalādevī, the wife of prince Permmāḍi (A.D. 1147-48), had caused to be built at Degāmve in the Sampagaon tāluka, was the work of the architect Tippoja, the *sūtradhāra* of the temple of the god Bankeśvara, and the son of the *sutradhāra* Haloja of Hūvinabāge.[67] There is reason to believe, therefore, that Huvinabage was a *mahā-nagara,* a Great City, and that it might also have been called Hāvinanagara. While its status is thus established beyond dispute in the twelfth century, is position in the second century A.D. has yet to be established by future research. But there is nothing improbable in the first half of the name of this town *Hūvina* having become in the hands of the Egyptian geographer *Omena,* the second half remaining as it is in the Kannaḍa word.

Immediately after Omenagara, Ptolemy relates that "Between the Benda and Pseudostomos" was Nagarouris (or Nagarouraris) which has not been identfied. The name strongly suggests a

---

[65] Kundangar, *ibid.,* pp. 75 (trans.); 15-16 (text). Rāyabāg has yielded another inscription of the Raṭṭa king Kārttavīrya which is utilized in connection with Nāganūr below.

[66] Rice, *My. & Coorg,* p. 73.

[67] Fleet, *DKD.,* p. 569, and note (7). One would like to identify Hūvinagara with Hubli, Hubbaḷḷi, Hūvinabaḷḷi itself. But Hubbaḷḷ's earlier name was Pūvallipura, the *guru-throne* of the Vīra Śaiva teacher Panchavannige Siddha Nañjeśa, who was the *guru* of Cikka Nañjeśa, the author of *Rāghavānka caritre.* (Kittel, Nāgavarmma's *Kannada Chchhandas,* Intr., p. LXIX. This author has been assigned by R. Narasimhācāry to *circa* A.D. 1650. But the learned Epigraphist of Mysore gives the name of the town as Hūlipūvaḷḷi (Narasimhacharya, *Kannada Kavi Carite,* II, pp. 379, 380).

Kannaḍa influence, although *nagara-ūru* (town-country) would make no sense.[68] One is tempted to identify it with Nāgarakhaṇḍa, a great and ancient division of the Banavāsi province, but the fact that Ptolemy locates it soon after Omenagara and before Tabaso, suggests that we may not have to look for it far too south-west in the direction of Nāgarakhaṇḍa but have possibly to locate it somewhere in the Bijapur-Dharwar-Kolhapur region. The nearest approach to Nagarouris is Nāganūr which figures as a boundary village in stone inscription of the reign of the Raṭṭa king Kārttavīrya IV. The date given in the record is Śaka 500, Monday, the 10th, śu., Āsāḍha, the cyclic year being Bhava. The date is obviously wrong because Śaka 500 (A.D. 578) would be far too early for any known Raṭṭa king of Saundatti. Moreover, from the genealogy of king Kārttavīrya as given in this record, it is clear that he was the elder brother of king Mallikārjuna. Now we know from other records that he was no other than Kārtavīrya IV, who ruled from A.D. 1199 till A.D. 1218.[69] For our purpose we may observe that in this record, which has to be assigned to the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D., there appears a place called Nāganūru which strongly suggests the Nagarouris of Ptolemy.

Next to Nagarouris is mentioned by Ptolemy Tapasoi which scholars have attempted to identify with "a city of the Tabasoi", a large community of Brahman ascetics.[70] But this is mere imagination since there is hardly any important centre in Southern or Western India where Brahmans did not reside, and where they did not perform their ascetic devotions! Neither can we accept Campbell's identification of Tapaso with Paṇḍharpūr.[71] We have, therefore, to find out the nearest equivalent to Tabosoi. A name that may be likened to it is Tambrapuri in the Veṇugrāma or Belgaum country, which figures in A.D. 1249, when it was granted as a gift by Sarvadhikārin Malli Seṭṭi to a citizen.[72] But beyond this nothing can be made out about its antiquity or commercial importance.

---

[68] My younger brother, Dr. G. N. Saletore, informs me that three is a place of that name in the Dharwar or Bijapur district. I am, however, unable to locate it.

[69] Kundangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-171 (trans.), 107 (text); See also Fleet, *DKD*, p. 551.

[70] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[71] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541 As regards Varahamihira's *Tāpaśśramaḥ*, which Campbell would equate with Ptolemy's Tabasoi, all that we may observe is that in this respect Pandharpur was as much holy as quite a number of other holy centres in the land.

Below Tabasoi is placed by Ptolemy Indé, which Campbell and R. S. Panchamukhi have identified with Iṇḍi, Iṇḍé, in the Bijapur district.[73] It is perhaps the same as Kiri-Iṇḍi which is mentioned in the stone inscription No. A. 35 preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Bijapur. This record dated A.D. 1196, December 26, while describing the beauty of Tarddavāḍi which was situated in the Kuntala country, relates that the thirty-three villages in Tarddavāḍi were like the looking-glass for the Lady Earth to see her face in; and that "If Kiri-Iṇḍi is considered, its greatness and prosperity throw into the back ground the capital of Devendra. Bhagīratha (first) pleased Hara very much, and then Sagara brought the heavenly river for his own use. Similarly a sea came to Kiri-Yiṇḍi with great pleasure". From the praise bestowed on this place, it is evident that it was a very liberal centre. For the same inscription relates the following: "Certainly the sight of Kiri-Yiṇḍi was bright with the reading of the Vedas, Śāstras, logic, Vedānta, Smṛiti, Purāṇa, poetry, and philosophy day and night. The Iṇḍi country was beautiful with the temples of Hari, Hara, gods, Arhanta, Buddha, and the multitude of sages, Jaina munis, and Buddhist monks". That it was not merely a centre of pious ascetics but was materially prosperous is proved from the next verse in the same inscription in which it is stated that Kiri-Yiṇḍi appeared beautiful on earth on account of the surrounding mango trees, a large number of creepers, and bees, lakes full of flowers, paddy fields, cuckoos, expansive sugar-cane farms, rows of beautiful gardens, etc. It is evident from the next verse in the same inscription that Kiri-Yiṇḍi boasted not only of learned men but also of administrators like Sovarasa, lord Késirāja, and Bammarasa, who seemed to have belonged to a family of poets and musicians, and also of brave warriors like Lakṣmīdeva and others. Since in this record Kiri-Yiṇḍi is also called Iṇḍi,[74] it is possible to identify it with the modern Iṇḍé in the Bijapur district.

---

[72] Fleet, *DKD*,, p. 527.

[73] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541; Panchamukhi, *Progress for 1941-46*, p. 47.

[74] Kundangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-149 (trans.), 81-83 (text).

J. 8

The place next to Iṇḍé in the list of Ptolemy called Tripangalida cannot be identified. We next come to Hippaokoura which is not to be confounded with its namesake on the coast. This Hippakoura was in the interior. Ptolemy makes it the capital of Balekouros. R. G. Bhandarkar identified the ruler Baleokouros with Vilivayakura, and Hippakoura either with Kolhāpur or with Karhāḍ.[75] We mentioned above its possible equivalent in the form of Kuduregunḍi. It cannot be made out whether the second mention of Hippokoura has to be referred to another place. If this is agreed, it is not improbable that, instead of imagining that in this as well as in the earlier one bearing the same name, Ptolemy translated an indigenous name into Greek, we may have to refer the name Hippokoura to Hippargi, also called Hūvina Hippargi, or merely Pipparge, in the Bābevāḍi taluka of the Bijapur district. As Hūvina Hippargi it figures so early as A.D. 862 in two stone inscriptions of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarṣa I. It is mentioned in these records as having been situated in the Kaṇṇavūr-viṣaya. It was given as a gift to the astrologer Goḷeya Bhaṭṭa by the same monarch in the year mentioned above.[76] It figures in a later record dated A.D. 1062.[77] In Hipparige was found a stone inscription of Queen Akkādevi, an elder sister of the Western Cālukya monarch Jayasimha III.[78]

This cannot be said of another Hipparige in the Sindagi taluka of the Bijapur district, where an inscription of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa II (A.D. 1173-1220) has been found.[79] Three stone records of the Yādava times have also been found at the same place. In one of them dated Śaka 1115 (A.D. 1193-94), the Yādava king Bhillama granted in that year the village of Inuguṇige to Rāyagurudeva of the Bhujavāṭikula, in conjunction with Pheyiya Sāhaṇi, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Gonarasa of the Seḷara family, and Sarvādhikāri Malleya Sāhani, while these latter were governing the Tarddavāḍi-nāḍu. The grant was made at the request of Bommeya Nāyaka for the benefit of the temple of the god Kalideva at Hipparige. The other records which are undated except for a few details which are not verifiable, refer to the gifts of taxes, oil etc., for the same temple by high officials like Mayideva Daṇḍanāyaka, Prabhudeva, Parīśadeva of Happarige, and Bammadeva-Daṇḍanāyaka.[80] We cannot make out whether the Hipparige in the Sindagi taluka was as ancient as its namesake in the Bāgevāḍi tāluka both in the Bijapur district. But the existence of two Hipparige suggests some questions like the following:—Could it be possible that the Hippokouros of Ptolemy may be referred to one of the two or both Hippariges in the Bijapur district? If they do, how could we explain the importance of two centres within the district? Whatever the answers might be, one fact seems clear, *viz.*, that we need not assume with some scholars that Ptolemy in this particular instance of a place-name used the translated form of an Indian word. The existence of two Hippariges suggests that they might have given the clue to the use of the name Hippokoura by Ptolemy.

---

[75] Bhandarkar, *E.H.D.* (*Bom. Gaz.*), pp. 158, 176. Campbell agreed with the identification of Baleokouros but suggested, as we have already seen above, that Hippakoura was either Godegaon or Kuda, or Hippargi in the Shimoga taluka (*Hist. of Guj.*, pp. 540, 541, *op. cit.*). R. S. Panchamukhi agrees with Bhandarkar in identifying Hippakoura with Kolhapur. The question may then be asked—How and when did the ancient name of Kolhapur, Karavīra, originate? On Karavīra, read Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 538, n. (8).

[76] *S.I.I.*, XI. P. I (I.P.I.), Nos. 8, 9, pp. 4-5.

[77] *Ibid.*, No. 98, pp. 94-95.

[78] Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 435, n. (7).

[79] Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 503. Here Hippargi is located in the Sindagi taluka of the Bijapur district.

Next to Hippokoura is placed by Ptolemy Soubouttau which cannot be identified. It cannot be made out whether this name stands for Saundatti, the capital of the Raṭṭas. But when we come to the next name in the list given by Ptolemy we are on surer ground. This is Sirimalaga which has been unconvincingly identified with Malkhet, and with Sirnal, Bijapur district.[81] We could with better justification identify it with Sirimalige, modern Chimmalige in the Bāgevādi tāluka of the Bijapur district. This identification satisfies all the three critieria mentioned by us earlier in these pages. The few relics unearthed here show that in the ancient times this village was an emporium of shell objects. It has been presumed that it was a centre of a large shell industry possessing a shell factory. It has yielded interesting relics of ancient pottery and shell ornaments.[82] It figures as Sirimalige in a stone inscription dated A.D. 862 as a boundary.[83] In a slightly different form (Sirimalligi) it appears in another stone record dated A.D. 1083 but as the name of river.[84] The Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI camped at Sirmalagi in A.D. 1083.[85] It again appears in the same form (Sirimaligi) in another stone inscription dated only in the Cālukya-Vikrama year 8 (A.D. 1084).[86] We may, therefore, without any hesitation identify it with Sirimaliga of Ptolemy.

---

[80] Nos. 28, 29, 30 of *Bombay-Karnataka List for 1936-1937*. Perhaps the reference given by Fleet (*DKD.*, p. 503) is to this Hīppargi.

[81] On its identification with Malkhet, or Malkhed, read Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 179. On its identification with Sirnal, read Campbell, *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541

Next to Sirimaliga in the list of the great geographer is Kalligeris. We may reject its identification by McCrindle with Kanheri, and by Campbell with Galgali,[87] as being unsatisfactory. There are good grounds for identifying it with a prominent centre in Karnāṭaka. But it must be confessed that we are confronted here with the same difficulty like the one which faced us when we attempted to identify Hippakoura of Ptolemy, *viz.*, that there are two towns of the same name almost with equal claims for antiquity, and satisfying almost equally well the other criteria we have mentioned above. These are Kalkere or Kalkeri in the Sindagi taluka of the Bijapur district, and Kalkeri, Kallukeri, Kalkere in the Hānugal taluka of the Dharwar district. After examining their relative claims for antiquity, we may deduce certain conclusions. Concerning Kalkere in the Bijapur district, we have eight stone inscriptions hailing from the same place. Of these only three are dated either in the Śaka era or in the regnal years, the others being undated. The earliest of these is dated only in the cyclic year Hemaḷambi, Vaiśākha śu., Sunday, mentioning the Western Cālukya monarch only by one of his titles, Tribhuvanamalla. Before we assign this record to its proper date, we may note its contents. It relates that three citizens consecrated the image of Késavadeva with the consent of the *mahājanas* of Kalkere which had been made into a *sarvamānya agrahāra* village by the Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka Kalimarasa, and endowed with specified gifts of

---

82. Panchamukhi, *Progress Report for 1941-1946*, p. 17.
83. *S.I.I.* XI, P. I, No. 8, p. 5, *op. cit.*
84. Kundangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 (trans.), 12 (text).
85. *ASWI. for 1917*, p. 50.
86. *No. 147 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1933-1934.*
87. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 179; *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541.

lands.[88] The title Tribhuvanamalla was first used only by the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya (A.D. 1009-1018), the elder brother of king Jayasimha III, Jagadekamalla.[89] But the record under discussion cannot be assigned to the reign of that ruler for the following reasons: It mentions the Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka Kalimarasa. This provincial viceroy may be identified with his namesake Mahāsāmanta Kaliyamarasa. of the Jīmūtavahana and the Khacchara race, who under Udayāditya was administrating the Bāsavūra 140 district in A.D. 1075.[90] This was under the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara II, who ruled from A.D. 1068 to A.D. 1076.[91] King Someśvara II was succeeded by his younger brother, the illustrious Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1126).[92] Mahāsāmanta Kaliyamarasa continued to serve under king Vikramāditya VI as a provincial viceroy, for in A.D. 1085-86 we find him governing the same district of Bāsuvura 140 district.[93] Since in the record under discussion we have the title of the king given as Tribhuvanamalla, and since we know that king Vikramāditya VI was better known by that distinctive *biruda*,[94] we may definitely assign the above record to the reign of king Vikramāditya VI. A Mahāsāmanta Kaliyamarasa of the same Jīmūtavāhana lineage and Khacchara race is mentioned in A.D. 1167 as one of the provincial governors under the Kalachuriya king Bijjaḷa (A.D. 1156-1167).[95] If he is to be identified with his namesake who figured under the Western Cālukya kings Somesvara II and Vikramāditya VI, it seems as if we are to give him an incredibly long life of 92 years from A.D. 1075 till 1167. Since this is very doubtful, we may reasonably assume that Kaliyamarasa of A.D. 1167 was a later one of that name, although there is nothing improbable in officers serving under one royal family which had supplanted the earlier house.

For our purpose we may note that Kalkere figures in another record also found in the same place, and dated only in Śaka 1109

---

[88] *No. 49 of te Bombay-Karnatak List for 1936-1937.*

[89] Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 73.

[90] Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 443.

[91] Rice, *ibid.*, p. 73.

[92] Rice, *ibid.*

[93] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 450.

[94] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 445.

[95] Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 446.

(A.D. 1187) without mentioning any ruler. In this record we are informed that Kalkere was called Aśmataṭāka, and that one of the 300 *mahājanas* of that place made a specified gift for the *satra* (alms-house), during the administration of the Mahāmandaleśvara Virūpadeva, who was governing the Hagaritenāḍ district.[96] The date A.D. 1187 falls within the reign of the Western Cālukya monarch Sōmeśvara IV (A.D. 1182-1189), but the name of the Mahamaṇḍaleśvara Virūpadeva is not met with among the provincial governors of that ruler.[97] The later records found at Kalkere refer to the times of the Yādavas or the Seuṇas. The earlier of these records is dated Śaka 1167 (A.D. 1245) of the reign of king Singhaṇa Deva (A.D. 1220-1248). We are informed in this inscription that a gift of land was made by the 300 *mahājanas, śeṭṭiguttas, mummuridaṇḍas,* etc., of Kalukere for the Ananta Tīrthankara temple constructed by the Mahāpradhāna Malle, Bache, and his son Pāyi Śeṭṭi, and other Jainas at the instance of their preceptor Kamalasenamuni.[98] This epigraph clearly proves that Kalukere was a prominent trade centre, since it boasted of the *śeṭṭiguttas, mummuridaṇḍas,* etc., the latter name in particular referring to the famous trade and commercial guilds of ancient Karnāṭaka. In the reign of the Yādava ruler Kannara Deva (A.D. 1247-1260), we have a stone inscription dated in the 4th regnal year of that ruler (i.e., A.D. 1251), also found in Kalukere, which informs us that a gift of specified land was made to the same Jaina temple mentioned above, by *mahājanas* of Kalukere on the occasion of the birth of a son to Rangarasa. It also records a gift of taxes (*melaḷike*) by Sarvodaya Nāyaka to the same temple.[99] This is a further proof that Kalukere continued to a place of note in A.D. 1251.

The four other stone inscriptions found at Kalkere cannot be assigned to any monarch's reign for want of sufficient chronological and other details. In one of them which has no Śaka year, although it has all other details, several trade guilds (*samaya*) of Kalkere made a gift of oil for a lamp to a deity whose name is lost in the record.[100] In another record without any chronological or political details, we have the interesting fact that Kalkere was a centre of learning as well, where Nyāsa, Prabhākara, Vedānta, Rig Veda, and Purāṇas were taught, provision being made for the teachers of all these subjects.[101] In a third undated record, the Kalkere *agrahāra* is mentioned with a gift obviously to it by Mahāpradhāna Kalmarasa for the temple of the god Késava.[102] The fourth record also hailing from Kalkere is badly damaged, and is undated but is written in characters of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. It registers a gift of land by many Haggaḍes (or local worthies).[103] These epigraphs make it clear that Kalkere in the Sindagi tāluka of the Bijāpur district was a prominent centre of learning and commerce from the last quarter of the eleventh century till the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. It appears as if we are to identify Kalligeris of Ptolemy with Kalkere in the Sindagi tāluka, because it satisfies all the conditions laid down by us as mentioned above.

---

[96] *No. 52 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1936-37.*
[97] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 465-466.
[98] *No. 53 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1936-37.*
[99] *No. 54 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1936-1937.*
[100] *No. 48 of ibid.*

But before we finally decide this question, it is worth while describing the history of its namesake in the Hānugal tāluka of the Dharwar district. The first point we may observe is that in this centre twenty-three stone inscriptions have been discovered. Of these twelve belong to the reign of the later Western Cālukya monarchs of Kalyāṇa, four to the period of the Yādavas, one to that of the Hoysalas, one to the age of the Vijayanagara monarchs, and five are undated records. The earliest of these records, is dated only in the 3rd regnal year of the Western Cālukya king Someśvara I, who had the *birudas* of Trailokyamalla and Āhavamalla. In this record which styles the monarch as Trailokyamalla Someśvara, we are informed that Śeṭṭima Nāyaka, a servant of Caladankarāma Madi Śetti of Kalukere, died during a cattle raid made by Tailahadeva of Devangere.[104] Since king Someśvara I's first regnal year was A.D. 1042, and since this record is dated in his 3rd regnal year, it has to be assigned to A.D. 1044. In another record dated also in the 3rd regnal year (A.D. 1044), of the same ruler, we are informed that Boppaṇa, a servant of Caladankarāma Mādi Śeṭṭi, died in a cattle raid when Tailahadeva of Devangere had raided the cattle of Kalukere.[105] A third stone inscription discovered also in Kalukere merely mentions Āhavamalla. This title was borne first by the founder of the later Western Cālukya royal house, Tailapa Deva II who had the *biruda* of Āhavamalla (A.D. 973-997).[106] But this inscription cannot be referred to the reign of the king Tailapa II, because it narrates the incident already referred in the two previous records. We learn from this epigraph that Bammuga, a servant of Caladankarāma Mādaṇa Śeṭṭi, who could have been no other than Caladankarāma Mādi Śeṭṭi mentioned above, died in a fight with Vemmuna at Raṭṭahalli.[107] Since this record is dated only in the 4th regnal year of Āhavamalla, and since that title was one of the two *birudas* of Someśvara I, we may assign that record to the year A.D. 1045.

---

[101] *No. 47 of ibid.*
[102] *No. 50 of ibid.*
[103] *No. 50 of ibid.*
[104] *No. 83 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1935-1936.*

To the same year is to be assigned another stone inscription also found at Kalkere, and dated also in the 4th regnal year of the same monarch Someśvara, in which we are informed that Sankeya Sāhani, a servant of Caladankarāma Mādi Seṭṭi, died when the latter had besieged the fort of Kundugola.[108] Another stone inscription dated Śaka 975 (A.D. 1053) which mentions Trailokyamalla, obviously refers to the same monarch Someśvara I. It registers a gift of toll income made for the temple of god Someśvara at Kalkereya, by several officers of Kuppatūrṭhāṇe and Tiḷivaḷḷiyaṭhāne. These officers had assembled for the said purpose at the command of Perggaḍe Somanāthayya, Perggaḍe Vāvaṇayya, and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kīrttivarmadeva.[109] Another stone inscription dated Śaka 977 (A.D. 1055) calls the monarch merely Trailokyamalla, obviously referring to king Someśvara I. It registers the gift of land made by Barmma Gāvuṇḍa, the headman of the village of Bengere, to Paśupatadeva for the benefit of the temple of the god Someśvaradeva, when Ganga Permmāḍi Vikramādityadeva of the Cālukya family was governing the Gangavāḍi 96,000 Province, Nārayaṇayya was the Perggade of the Banavāsi 12,000 Province, and Mallasrasa was the Nālgavuṇḍa of the Basavūra 140 District.[110] In a damaged record of the reign of the same Western Cālukya ruler Trailokyamalla Someśvara I, we have the gift of the income of the toll offices (names lost) of the Banavāse 12,000 Province, for a temple (name lost).[111] The date of this record is likewise lost. In another damaged record, the date of which is also lost, and which also refers to the reign of the same ruler, is mentioned a gift to the temple of Svayambhū Someśvara. It was made by Jayasingha of Kalkere, a subordinate of Daṅḍanāyaka Govindarasa, who was administering the Banavāse 12,000 Province, and the *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* taxes under the Mahāpradhāna Anantapālayya, who was the viceroy placed over the Banavāse 12,000 and Palasige 1200, Provinces and who also controlled the *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* taxes and the *achchupannāya* taxes.[112]

---

[105] *No. 86 of ibid.*

[106] Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 428.

[107] *No. 90 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1935-1936.*

[108] *No. 84 of ibid.*

[109] *No. 73 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1935-1936.*

Of king Someśvara I's son and successor Someśvara II, Bhuvanaikamalla (A.D. 1068-1076), we have only one record at Kalkere. It is dated Śaka 998 (A.D. 1076). It styles the monarch merely Bhuvanaikamalla, and registers the gift of the village of Pullavala (location specified) made at the request of the Pērggaḍe Divākara, by Bhuvanaikamalla Vīra Noḷamba, who was governing the provinces of Noḷambavāḍi, Pānugalnāḍu, and the Banavāse-deśa, in conjunction with his wife Mailaḷadevī, to Devaśingajīya for the temple of the god Svayambhū Someśvara.[113] Another stone inscription dated in the 13th Cālukya-Vikrama era (A.D. 1089), and of the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI, A.D. 1076-1126), records the gift of certain specified toll incomes made by Pērggaḍe Cāngadevayya for the benefit of the temple (name lost), when Daṇḍanāyaka Śrīdharayya and Daṇḍanāyaka Āśapavya were administering the *vaḍḍarāvula* and other taxes.[114] In another stone record dated in the 9th regnal year of the Western Cālukya monarch Jagadekamalla, who was obviously the second of that name, and assignable to A.D. 1147, we have the following details: the death of a son of Keta at Śiruvoḷal during the fight between the people of Kāginele in which the Nāḷ-Prabhu Keti Śeṭṭi of Kalukere had fallen.[115] Another record of the same year and describing the same fight mentions the death of the same Nāḷ-Prabhu and also of Kammāra Santoja on the same occasion.[116]

---

[110] *No. 69 of ibid.*
[111] *No. 70 of ibid.*
[112] *No. 74 of ibid.*
[113] *No. 75 of ibid.*
[114] *No. 76 of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1935-1936.*
[115] *No. 87 of ibid.*

Of the Yādava or the Seuṇa times, we have three stone inscriptions discovered at Kalkere. The earliest is dated only in the 16th regnal year of the Yādava ruler Singhaṇa Deva (A.D. 1210-1247). It registers the gift of toll income made by Kaḍuva Mahanta, the toll officer (*suṅkada vērggaḍe*), and Lakṣmīpāladeva to the temple of Somanātha.[117] This record may be assigned to A.D. 1226. The next record is dated in the 12th regnal year of the Yādava king Mahādeva (A.D. 1260-1271). But the 12th regnal year of that ruler would really fall in the second regnal year of the next king Rāmacandra Deva (A.D. 1271-1309). It records the gift of the toll income made by the Mahāpradhāna Siṛala Māyideva to the same temple.[118] Of the reign of king Rāmacandra Deva we have a record dated in his 18th year (A.D. 1289), which merely mentions the death of Mādaiya (descent stated), a lay disciple of the Jaina teacher Samantabhadradeva.[119]

Turning to the Hoysala times, we find that a record dated in the 17th regnal year (A.D. 1190) of king Vīra Ballāḷa (A.D. 1173-1220), registers the gift of land made by Caladankarāma Hariya Śeṭṭi, the Nāḷ-Prabhu of Kalukere, the *mummuridaṇḍas,* Kācaya Sāhaṇi, and Anantaya Sāhani to Mūrujāvideva for the temple of the Svayambhū Somanātha.[120] In another record the same dignitary Caladankarāma Hariya Śeṭṭi is mentioned.[121]

Only one record dated in the cyclic year Prabhava, Āśvija, Śuddha, refers to the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Rama Rāja Venkaṭapatideva. It registers the gift of a temple site made by Vopana to Parvate Oḍeya for the merit of Kamapa Nāyaka, the Agent of the king.[122]

In addition to the above, there are five undated records found in Kalkere. Of these four refer to the death of heroes in fights.

---

[116] *No. 85 of ibid.*
[117] *No. 79 of ibid.*
[118] *No. 81 of ibid.*
[119] *No. 72 of ibid.*
[120] *No. 77 of ibid.*
[121] *No. 78 of ibid.*
[122] *No. 71 of ibid.*

One mentions the death of Hiriya Nāgayya, the son of Nāḷ-Prabhu Soya Śetti, in a fight.[123] Cikka Nāgayya, another son of the same Nāḷ-Prabhu, also died obviously in the same or in another fight.[124] Another record dated only in the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa, records the death of a certain Maṇḍalika of Uddhare (name lost) in a fight at Udariyakoṭe during the *regíme* of Kāvadeva.[125] A third inscription dated only in the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa, registers the gift of some toll income by Immaḍi Singa Nāyaka, Demarasa, and Tipparasa to the temple (obviously of the god Svayambhū Somanātha).[126] There is one more stone record dated in the cyclic year Īśvara but in characters of the 14th-15th centuries, in which we are informed that Cikka, the son of Goya Nāyaka, the Steward of the House (*mane-adhikāri*) of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ballugi Deva Rāṇeya, died while fighting with certain Rāṇes.[127]

We may now assess the relative importance of Kalukere, Kalkere in the Sindagi tāluka in the Bijapur district, and its namesake in the Kalāḍgi taluka in the Dharwar district. While the former can claim only eight records, the latter can boast of twenty-three stone inscriptions. Since the setting up of stone inscriptions, which were the archives of those days, in a particular place meant its importance as a town or a village, it follows that, judged by the number of inscriptions found in Kalkere in the Kalāḍgi tāluka, it was more prominent as a public than its namesake in the Sindagí tāluka of the Bijapur district. Kalkere in the Sindagi tāluka was a literary and a commercial centre; while its namesake in the Dharwar district was a political and a commercial centre. In fact, the many cattle raids, and what appear to have been political fights in Kalkere in the Kalāḍgi tāluka, and the names of many highly placed administrative officials appearing in the record suggest that it was, indeed, a very important political unit. Moreover, the antiquity of Kalkere in the Kalāḍgi tāluka can be dated to the middle of the eleventh century A.D., while that of its namesake in the Sindagi tāluka can be dated to the last quarter of the same century. But the determining factor in favour of Kalkere in the Dharwar district is that it continued to be a prominent centre from the middle of the eleventh century till the end of the sixteenth century-an honour which is not shared by its namesake in the Bijapur district. These considerations enable us to assert that the Kalligeris of Ptolemy was probably Kalkere in the Kaladgi tāluka of the Dharwar district.

---

[123] No. 89 *of the Bombay-Karnatak List for 1935-1936.*
[124] No. 51 *of ibid.*
[125] No. 82 *of ibid.*
[126] No. 80 *of ibid.*
[127] No. 80 *of ibid.*

Ptolemy mentions next to Kalligeris the town of Modogoulla which was identified by McCrindle with Mudgal in the Hyderabad State.[128] But there is nothing to justify this identification except the outward similarity in name. Campbell had identified it with Mudhol on the Ghaṭaprabhā[129] but did not give any reasons for the same. This identification seems to be correct because of the following reasons. Mudhol figures so early as A.D. 949 in Kannaḍa literature. Its earlier name was Mudhuvoḷal in which form it appears as the birth place of the famous Kannada poet Ranna (born A.D. 949, his well known work *Ajitapurāṇa* being composed in A.D. 993). It is called the famous (*śresṭavāda*) Mudhuvoḷal, and is said to have been situated in the Jambukhaṇḍi 70 district which was located in the larger area of Beḷguḷi 500 which in its turn formed a part of the Beḷugurenāḍ.[130] It figures in a stone inscription discovered in the Kalinātha temple at Niḍagundi, and dated A.D. 1106. A citizen of Mudhuvoḷal, whose name is effaced in the record, together with another citizen (named), granted specific land for the *pavitrāropaṇa* of the glorious Keśavaditya.[131] While Mudhoḷ, therefore, figures from the middle of the tenth century A.D., Mudgal appears as the administrative headquarters of an official called Sarvadeśādhikari Malli Śetti only in A.D. 1249 under the Yādava ruler Kṛṣṇa (A.D. 1247-1260).[132] It next figures only in A.D. 1310 when Malik Kafūr captured it in the course of his fourth Deccan campaign.[133]

Ptolemy next mentions the city of Petrigala which R. S. Panchamukhi has identified with Paṭṭadakal, twelve miles north-east of Badami, Bijapur district. According to the same scholar, the antiquity of the place is proved by the prehistoric relics of all

[128] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
[129] *Hist. of Guj.*, p. 541.
[130] *Kavicharite*, I, pp. 62,63.
[131] Kundangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 (trans.), 15 (text).
[132] Fleet, *DKD*, p. 527; Bhandarkar, *E.H.D.*, p. 245.
[133] Fleet, *ibid*, p. 533, n(3).

types of tombs in the shape of huge unhewn stones forming dolmens and cairns discovered in that centre. It has yielded about twenty stone inscriptions the earliest of which is assigned to the reign of the early Cālukya ruler Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733), and the latest, to that of the Sinda Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Cāvuṇḍarasa II, during the reign of the later Western Cālukya monarch Tailapa Deva II (A.D. 1163). Paṭṭadakal, otherwise known as Kisuvoḷal, was one of the most famous centres in Western India, which boasted of great artisans, architects, dancers, and sculptors. It was the second capital of the early Cālukyas, their first capital being Vātāpi or Bādami, also in the Bijapur district. It became renowned as the centre where the Cālukya rulers were crowned ceremoniously. It was styled as the "best of metropolitian cities" (*sakaḷaviṣaya-paṭṭaṇādhipati-śrīmat Kisuvoḷal*).[134] In A.D. 1070 it was called Kisuvoḷal, the chief of the towns in the whole country, on account of its being the place of festivities of coronations of the Cālukya dynasty, from which fact it received the name of *Paṭṭadakal*.[135] This fact raises an important question. If Kisuvoḷal is the earlier name, and if because of its being the place of coronations, it came later on to be called Paṭṭadakal, then, how could we justify the existence of Paṭṭadakal in the age of Ptolemy? In other words, since Kisuvoḷal was the earlier name, it cannot be identified with Petrigala of Ptolemy. This is, indeed, a valid, objection which cannot be satisfactorily answered at present. The only supposition is that, even before the days of the founder of the early Cālukya house, king Jayasimha I, it may have been famous as the place where the earlier rulers perfomed their coronation ceremonies; and that it was from these earlier kings that the early Cālukyas received the tradition relating to that place being a centre of coronations. Notwithstanding this doubt, the fact remains that in the early records the town is called Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal.[136] This enables us to presume that, while Kisuvoḷal may certainly have been the earlier name, it was also called Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal thereby justifying the identification of Petrigala with Paṭṭadakal made above.

[134] Panchamukhi, *Progress Report for 1941-46*, pp. 52-65. Read also Fleet, *DKD*, pp. 305, 348, n(8), 358, 366, n(1), 572, 575.

[135] *S.I.I.*, XI, P. I, No. 110, p. 107.

[136] Fleet, *ibid*, p. 348, n(8), *op. cit.*

The last name in this list of Ptolemy is that of Banaouasei which has been rightly identified with Banavāsi in the North Kanara district.[137] This city is of great antiquity, and has played a very important part in the history of Western India. It has figured in Pali literature and in the epigraphs of Karnāṭaka from the third century B.C. till the twelfth century A.D.

Having dispensed with one set of cities mentioned by Ptolemy, we may now turn to the inland cities of pirates, as Ptolemy calls them, and to certain other cities with whose identification we may close our survey of the coastal and inland centres of Karnāṭaka, as given by that great Egyptian geographer. The two inland cities of the pirates as given by him are Olokhoria and Mousopalle.[138] The identification of Olokhoria with Kheḍa, Khaira, is untenable.[139] As already remarked in an earlier connection, it has been rightly identified with Āluvakheḍa.[140] The term Āluvakheḍa, however, was given to the whole province called the Āluvakheḍa Six Thousand Province which comprised the South Kanara and North Kanara districts, and some parts of the districts on the Western Ghats.[141] Ptolemy evidently confounded the province with its capital, since the capital of the Āluvakheḍa Six Thousand Province was Udyāvara.[141a]

The other inland city of the pirates, according to Ptolemy, was Mousopalle, the metroplis. Yule doubtfully identified it with Mīraj, a town near the Kṛṣṇā.[142] Campbell identified it with Karavīra (Kolhapur).[143] If we make some allowance for the substitution of *palle*, (*paḷḷi, palle, haḷḷi*, a village) for *vāḍi* (*vāṭa, vāḍa*, a district), either by Ptolemy or more probably by some foreigner traveller from whom that geographer might have borrowed the names of towns, and assume that the *haḷḷi, paḷḷi*, of the earlier days became the *vāda* of the later times, we may perhaps identify Mousopalle with Māsavāḍi which has figured in epigraphs from the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. to the first quarter of the thirteenth century as an important district. As in the case of Olokhoria, so here in that of Māsavāḍi, Ptolemy seems to have confounded a whole province with a place in it. At any rate, Māsavāḍi was certainly an important centre. In A.D. 1010-11 in the reign of the later Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1009-1018),[144] Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja, Ghaṭeya Aṅkakāra, who had married a daughter of the Western Cālukya king Iṟivabeḍenga Satyāśraya, governed, among other districts, the five towns in the Māsavādi country.[145] The same five towns in the Māsavāḍi country were administered by the Noḷamba Pallava viceroy Bommaṇayya in A.D. 1040-1043 under the next Western Cālukya monarch Jayasimha II.[146] In A.D. 1050 we find that Māsavāḍi had assumed importance as a 140 district. For in that year we find the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara I's aunt, the able Akkādevī, governing the Kisukāḍ 70, Toṟagare 6, and Māsavāḍi 140 districts.[147] Under the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara IV's rule (A.D. 1182-1189), we find Daṇḍanāyaka Tejirāja, Tejimayya, or Tejugi, governing the Māsavāḍi district in A.D. 1184-85, apparently from Dharmapura or Dombaḷ which is said to have been situated in that district.[148] The Māsavāḍi district was one of the many provinces conquered by the illustrious Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Bittiga Deva (A.D. 1111-1141).[149] In the reign of an equally famous Hoysala ruler Vīra Ballāḷa II (A.D. 1173-1220), Māsavaḍi is mentioned in connection with two of his senior queens. In A.D. 1179 king Vīra Ballāḷa II and his senior (*piriya arasi*) Remmādevī jointly made a gift of specified land at Kaulūr in the Māsavāḍi district for the local temple. Fleet opined that the queen Remmādevi belonged to the family of Permmāḍi or Hemmāḍideva, the prince of Māsavādi, who figures in two records—one dated A.D. 1181 and the other A.D. 1203.[150] Another *piriya-arasi*, who is also called *paṭṭadamahādevī* of the same Hoysala monarch Vīra

---

[137] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Its identification with Konkanupulo of Yuan Chwang is untenable, as I shall show in a separate paper.

[138] Sastri, *ibid*, p. 180.

[139] Sastri, *ibid*, p. 181.

[140] McGrindle, *Ind. Ant.* XIII, p. 367; Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 137.

[141] Saletore, B. A., *Hist. of Tuluva*, p. 57 ff.

[141a] Saletore, *ibid*, p. 66 ff.

[142] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 180.

[143] *Hist of Guj.*, p. 542.

---

[144] Fleet gives the dates A.D. 1009-1011 (*D.K.D.*, p. 428). But I follow Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 73.

[145] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 333, 435.

[146] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 437.

[147] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 440.

[148] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 465.

[149] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 497.

[150] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 501-502.

Ballāḷa II, by name Ketaladevī, allotted in A.D. 1203 a portion of the *hejjunka* tax of the Māsavāḍi district to the local god.[151] Under the Yadava king Singhaṇa Deva (A.D. 1210-1247), the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ballāḷa Deva was placed as governor over the Māsavāḍi country in A.D. 1218.[152] These epigraphs, therefore, prove beyond doubt that Māsavāḍi was a place of considerable importance, and perhaps a place of great antiquity; that it had originally five towns of note; that it grew into a district in course of time; that it had its own royal family; that it was governed successively by the Western Cālukyas, the Hoysalas, and the Yādavas; and that the Hoysalas were matrimonially connected with the royal house of Māsavāḍi.

Ptolemy next relates that the inland cities of Limyrike to the west of Pseudostomos were the following:—Naroulla, Kouba, and Paloura. Of these only Kouba is supposed to have been the same as Goa.[153] It cannot be made out on what grounds this identification rests. As regards Paloura, there are three names which appear to be similar to that name. The first is Pale, near Mahād, Kolaba district, where there are caves in one of which there is an inscription dated A.D. 130.[154] Perhaps Pale is far too in the north to be identified with Paloura of Ptolemy. Then there is the village of Palgiṟe which is one of the two villages, the other being Muṇḍakallu, which Ādityavarman, a son of the early Cālukya king Pulikésin II, gave as a gift to a Brahman. The undated copper-plate grant registering this gift has probably to be assigned to the seventh century A.D. [155] Nothing more about this place can be gathered from epigraphs. Much more than these two places perhaps by Paloura was meant by Ptolemy Puḻigere, which is inland and which was a district of prominence. It appears in its Sanskritized form of Pulikara in a stone inscription found in the same place, and dated A.D. 723, when the early Western Cālukya king

---

151. Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 502.

152. Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 523. On General Ballāladeva who is not to be confounded with the Hoysala ruler of that name, Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 506, n. (2). Fleet informs us that there was a petty principality at Māsavāḍi, itself to which Permmāḍi, who has figured above, and the Hoysala queens Remmādevī and Ketaladevī belonged.

153. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

154. Nairne, *History of Konkan* (*Bom. Gaz.*), p. 12.

155. Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 367.

Vijayāditya, while camping at Raktapura granted a village (named) to the south of the town of Pulikara to a donee (named). It cannot be made out whether Raktapura was another name of Laksmeśvara.[156] At any rate the evidence of the above stone record establishes the fact that by the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., Puligere was already a town of consequence. It next figures in the well known work called *Kavirājamārggā* attributed to the Rāstrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarṣa I, Nṛpatunga (A.D. 815-877), as one of the four places where pure Kannada (*tiruḷḷgannaḍa*) was spoken, the others being Okkunda near Palasige, Kisuveḷal or Paṭṭadakal, or Pattada-Kisuvolal near Aihole, and Kopananagara or Kopbal in the old Hyderabad (modern Mysore) State.[157] In a stone inscription found at Hebbal in the Dharwar district, we are informed that between A.D. 911-12 and 840, the Ganga king Būtuga married a daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Amoghvarṣa Vaḍḍiga, receiving as the dowry of the princess the district of Puligere or Puṛigere 300 which was the country around Laksmésvar in the Miraj State but falling within the limits of Dharwar.[158] Puligere or Laksmésvar 300 district was one of the districts conquered by the founder of the later Western Cālukya house of Kalyāna, Tailapa Deva I (A.D. 973-997).[159] It continued to be under his son and successor Satyāśraya, when the latter's viceroy Mahāsāmanta Sobhanarasa governed in A.D. 1002 many provinces one of which was Puligere or Laksmeśvar 300 district.[160] Under the Western Cālukya ruler Someśvara II (A.D. 1068-1076), the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Laksmeśvara was the viceroy placed over Puligere 300 and the Belvola 300 districts in A.D. 1071[161] The Yuvarāja Jayasimha (the future Jayasimha III) under the famous monarch Vikramāditya VI, was the Viceroy placed over many provinces which included the Puligere 300 and the Belvola 300 districts. This was between the years A.D. 1077 and 1082.[162] Under the same monarch in A.D. 1100-1101, the Dandanayaka Anantapalayya was the viceroy placed over Puligere 300 and the Belvola 300 districts.[163] These two districts were governed in A.D. 1112-13 by the Kannaḍasandhivigrahi (Minister for Peace and War for the Karnāṭaka Provinces) Śrīpatiyarasa.[164] Under the Western Cālukya monarch Somésvara III, the viceroy placed over the same two districts was the Daṇḍanāyaka Mahādeva in A.D. 1138-1139.[165] Under the last Western Cālukya ruler Somésvara IV (A.D. 1182-1189), the viceroy stationed in the Puligere 300 and other districts was the Mahāmaṇḍalésvara Kāmadeva. This was in the last year of the same monarch Somésvara IV (A.D. 1189).[166] The above evidence, therefore, proves that from the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. till the last quarter of the twelfth century, Puligere was, indeed, a place of great importance in the history of Karnāṭaka.

---

[156] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 373.

[157] *Kavicharite*, II, Intr., p. XIV; S. Srikantha Sastri, *Sources of Karnāṭaka History*, I. p. 79 (Mysore, 1940).

[158] Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 304. Read *ibid.*, p. n. (6) on the variants of the name Puligere. The earliest variant seems to be Porigere (*ibid.*, p. 418).

[159] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 413; Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 73.

[160] Fleet, ibid., p. 432.

[161] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 443.

[162] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 449.

To continue with the narrative of Ptolemy, we are informed by that geographer that "Between the Pseudostomos and the Baris,', were the following cities:—Pasagé, Mastanour, Kourellour, Pounnata "where beryl is found", Aloe, Karoura, the royal seat of the Kerabothros, Arembour, Bideris, Pantipolis, Adarima, and Kareour. Ptolemy next states that the inland town of the Aioi was Morounda.[167] Of the above towns, Pasage has been rightly identified by Yule with Palasige,[168] but without assigning any reasons. We may adduce proof to show that the identification is correct. Here we may recount the third criterion we have mentioned above, *viz.*, the availability of epigraphic proof of a later date in order to show the importance of the locality under discussion. Palasige was a territorial division of which Palasige, Palasika, Halasige, Halsi, was the unit in the Khānāpur taluka of the Belgaum district. It has yielded copper plate inscriptions of the early Kadamba kings Kākusthavarman and Mṛigésvarman of Vaijayanti or Banavasi.[169] The chronology of these rulers is not yet determined but

---

[163] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 451.

[164] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 452.

[165] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 458.

[166] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 563.

[167] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[168] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 181.

[169] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 285, 288, 565, and n. (1). Halsi has also yielded other plates of the Kadamba kings Ravivarman and Harivarman. (Panchamukhi, *Digest for 1940-41*, p. 3).

Kākusthavarman may be placed at the end of the fourth century A.D. and Mṛigésvarman, in the fifth century A.D.[170] In a stone inscription once recovered by Sir Walter Elliot but subsequently found by Fleet to be not traceable, which was said to have been received from Aminbhāvi, Dharwar district, which was dated A.D. 1113, which was said to have contained an earlier record dated A.D. 567-568, and which was considered by Fleet to be extremely suspicious, king Pulikésin II is described to have made certain grants to the god Kalideva of Ammiyanabhāvi, an *agrahāra* in the Kuṇḍūru 500 district which was within the Palasige-viṣaya.[171] The chronological flaw in this record is the following:—The earlier inscription is supposed to have been dated A.D. 567-58 which falls within the reign of Pulikeśin II's father Kīrttivarman I (A.D. 566-597), and not within that of Pulikeśin II, who ruled from A.D. 609 till 642. Nevertheless the evidence of the later record dated A.D. 1113, which was said to have embodied the earlier one of A.D. 567-68, may not be dismissed as being altogether unreliable, since it might have contained the traditions and facts of an earlier age.

We may continue with the history of Palasige under the later Western Cālukyas. In the reign of the great monarch Vikramāditya VI, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Guvalla, Gūhalla, of the family of Kadambas of Goa, ruled from Goa the Palasige 12,000 Province in A.D. 1098.[172] It is evident that in the intervening period from the fifth or sixth century A.D. to the eleventh century A.D., Palasige must have grown in size and importance from an ordinary *viṣaya* to the status of a 12,000 Province. This fact is significant not only in this connection but also in that of Māsavādi which we have discussed above. Later on in the reign of the same Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Jayakesin II of the Kadamba family of Goa ruled in A.D. 1125-26 over the Konkaṇa 900, the Palasige 12,000, the Hayve or Payve 500, and the Kavaḍidvīpa Lakh-and-a-Quarter Provinces.[173] Jayakesin II continued to govern the same provinces in A.D. 1128-9 under the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara III.[174] The Palasige 12,000

[170] These dates are provisional. The Early Kadambas require a detailed study.

[171] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 358, n. (1).

[172] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 451.

[173] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 452.

[174] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 456, 568.

Province continued to be under Kadamba feudatories in A.D. 1163, when the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Permmādi and Vijayāditya, the sons of Jayakeśin II, ruled over that province and over the Konkaṇa 900 and the Veḷugrama (Veṇugrama or Belgaum) 70 districts.[175] These two Kadamba viceroys continued to govern the Palasige 12,000 and the Konkana 900 Provinces in A.D. 1167 under the Kaḷacuriaya ruler Bijjala Deva of Kalyaṇa.[176] The same provincial viceroy's of the Kadamba stock continued to govern the same provinces in the reign of the next Kaḷacuriya monarch Someśvara, Soyideva, in A.D. 1169-70, although it is doubtful whether they acknowledged that monarch's suzerainty.[177] The epigraphs we have cited above prove that Palasige was an important centre from the fifth or sixth century A.D. till the end of the twelfth century, and that it is not improbable that its antiquity as a prominent place may have to be traced to the age of Ptolemy (second century A.D.).

That Egyptian geographer next mentions Mastanour and Kourellour which are supposed to be unidentifiable.[178] But we may venture to identify the latter centre called Kourellour. The name sounds as Kannaḍa, the first half of the world appearing to be either *kāre* or *kare*. In the former form it appears in quite a number of name in Kannada, like Kārehaḷḷi, Kārehaḷḷi, Kāreyahaḷḷi, Kārepura, Kāreūru, Kareūru, Kāreyapaṭṭana, etc.[179] Excepting the last place, the others are far too in the south in the Mysore State. Kāreyapaṭṭana in the Ratnagiri district is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1428 as having been conquered by the early Vijayanagara king Harihara Raya II.[180] It was evidently the same place which in earlier times was the capital of the Śilahāra king Anantadeva in A.D. 1095.[181] That means, we could date the antiquity of Kāreyapaṭṭana only to the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Was this the Kourellour of Ptolemy? The answer is doubtful, since there is a more ancient place which sounds similar to the one mentioned by Ptolemy. This Kārellikā in the Kheṭahāradeśa, now represented by Karel in the Rājāpur tāluka, Khetahāra being the modern Kheḍ taluka also in the Ratnagiri district. The copper plate grant which gives us these and other details was discovered in Goa, and is dated A.D. 610 of the reign of the early Western Cālukya king Pulikeśin II.[182] What makes us prefer Kārellikā to Kārepayaṭṭaṇa and other places, is the fact that, since it existed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., it is not unlikely that it might have had an earlier history taking it back to the days of Ptolemy. At any rate, its antiquity and similarity to the name given by Ptolemy suggest that it might have been the place called Kourellour mentioned by him. The ending of this particular name, we may add, strongly suggests a peculiar nomenclature of towns which we have discussed elsewhere.[183]

---

[175] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 460, 569, 570.

[176] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 476.

[177] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 486.

[178] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

[179] *Ep. Car.* XI. Si. 17; VI. Kd. 26, 49, 68, 157; Mg. 13; XI. Hk. 96; III. TN. 63; Nj. 44; X. Cb. 40; V. Bl. 74; Cn. 256; VIII. Nr. 25.

[180] *Ep. Car.* XI. Hr. 52, p. 110.

[181] *Ind. Ant.* IX., p. 33; Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 543.

With "Pounnata, where is beryl", we are definitely on more solid ground. As in the case of Olokhoria, Ptolemy seems to have confounded the whole province with its capital. We have elsewhere shown that Punnāṭa was the name given to the kingdom that lay to the extreme south of the Mysore State. It was a Ten-Thousand Province in early ages, then it became Hadināḍ (sixteen nāḍus or districts) in the sixteenth century, in which latter form (Hadināru) it survives to the present day. As a Ten-Thousand Province it comprised all the country draining to the south of the Kabbaṇī river. The capital of the Punnāṭa-viṣya, as it was called in the early days was "the immense great city of Kittūr" on the Kapiṇī river in the Heggaḍedevankoṭe ṭāluka of the Mysore State.[184] Ptolemy does not mention Kittūr at all, just as in the case of the Āluvakheḍa Six Thousand Province, he does not mention its capital, Udayāvara. It is clear that in both the cases the kingdoms as a whole had assumed more prominence than their capitals, at least in the eyes of the foreigners. We have shown that the ancient kingdom of Punnāṭa was connected with the advent of the Jainas in the olden days under their famous sage Bhadrabāhu, the contemporary and perhaps the *guru* of the Maurayan

---

[182] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 355, 356

[183] Cf. Saletore, B. A., *Karnāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts* (1957).

[184] Saletore, B. A., *The Ancient Kingdom of Punnata* in the *Indian Culture*, III., pp. 303-317.

Emperor Candragupta (fourth century B.C.); and that when Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakevalis, came with his entire *sangha* or congregation in order to avert the dire consequences of the twelve years' famine which had been foretold in Ujjain, Punnāṭa was very prosperous and wealthy kingdom. The tradition relating to this famous migration of the Jainas under their *guru* Bhadrabāhu is provided by later epigraphs dated about A.D. 600, and by the evidence as recorded by the Jaina author Hariṣeṇa (A.D. 930). The wealth of Punnāṭa lay in its hundreds of villages which, as is related in stone inscriptions discovered to the south of the Pārśvanātha *basadi* at Candragiri, a suburb of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and dated about A.D. 600, consisted of "the increase in people, money, grains, cows, buffaloes, and goats."[185] That Punnāṭa continued to be a prosperous province which could bring on itself the covetous eyes of a neighbouring king, is proved by the Candravalli stone inscription of the middle of the third century A.D., dealing with the victories of the founder of the Kadamba royal house, Māyūraśarman, who is credited in that record with having defeated many rulers, one of them being the king of Pūnnāṭa.[186] This may be considered to be the earliest and correct variant of the name *Pū-nāṭa* or *Pū-nāḍu*, "the Land of Flowers". That such a name is not uncommon is proved by the existence of similar names like Pūvallipura, modern Hubli, etc., in Karnāṭaka.[187] For our purpose the language in which this word *Pū-nāṭa* is used is significant, since it is a pure Kannaḍa word which along with quite a number of other names also in Kannaḍa which we have discussed in this treatise, enable us to assert that that language existed in the second and third century A.D. The Candragiri stone inscription assigned to A.D. 600 cited above does not, however, enlighten us on one source of wealth which in the eyes of the foreigners had become prominent. This was the beryl for which Punnāṭa was famous. We have already cited the evidence of Pliny A.D. 23-79 in regard to the esteem in which the beryl was held by the Indians.[188] The region which produced the beryl could have been only the kingdom of Punnāṭa. We may incidentally observe here that as seen above, there was an ancient family rulers in Pāṇāṭa or Punnāṭa,[189] whose annals can be dated to about the first quarter of the third century A.D. But it cannot be made out as to who was the contemporary of Ptolemy in Punnāṭa,[190]

---

[185] Saletore, *ibid.*, p. 303.

[186] Saletore, *ibid.*, p. 305.

[187] Nagavarmma, *Kannada Chchhandes*, p. LXIX (Ed. by Kittel).

[188] McGrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 130, *op. cit.* On the date of Pliny, read Sastri, *op. cit.*, Intr., p. XVIII.

Next to Punnāṭa in the list of Ptolemy comes Aloe. This has been identified with Yellāpura in North Kanara.[191] There does not seem to be any justification for this identification. It is more probable that Aloe was the same as Aihoḷe in the Hungund taluka of the Bijapur district. Its other names were Ayyāvoḷe in Kannaḍa and Āryapura in Sanskrit. It was the headquarters of what may rightly be called the Indian Chamber of Commerce, or the National Trade Union, which controlled a nation-wide net work of commercial and trade organizations over the whole of the western and southern parts of the Indian peninsula from the sixth century A.D. onwards.[192] Aihoḷe was also the centre of learned Brahmans and *ūrāḷis,* which latter term may be interpreted to mean *ūr-ālus* or Administrators of the Country-sides. This is proved by an undated stone inscription in archaic characters found on the beam of the Gauḍaraguḍi in Aihoḷe, which registers a gift by the 500

---

[189] Saletore, *Ind. Cult., ibid.,* p. 313.

[190] Mr. Sastri writes that Pounnata has has not been identified, and that Yute placed it near Seringapatam. (Sastri, *ibid.,* p. 181). Punnāṭa does not figure in Professor Mortimer Wheeler's interesting book "Rome Beyond Her Imperial Frontiers".

[191] Sastri, *ibid.,* p. 181.

[192] *Epigraphia Indica,* XVI, p. 332, and note (2). The widespread influence of the Aihole National Trade Union or the Indian Chamber of Commerce is seen in the history of the Telugu Trade Unions which were affiliated to the parent organization. The history of the Telugu Trade Guilds is given, for instance, in the two Chintapalle stone inscription, one of which is dated Śaka 1162 (A.D. 1240), in which the Telugu chieftain Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Cāgi Dorayarāja is called *Pṛithviśeṭhi* or "Lord Mayor of the World". These Telugu Trade Guilds are described as the Protectors of the Vīra-Vaṇajiga *dharma,* and as the receipients of boons from the mandate of the 500 Svāmis (*pañcaśata-vīra-śāsana*). These latter 500 Svāmis could have been only the 500 Svāmis of Ayyavole. The fact that in these two records the portions enumerating the various Trade Guilds are written in Kannaḍa with a mixture of Telugu, adds further weight to the argument that the Telugu Trade Guilds in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., were to a large extent controlled by the parent body at Ayyavole. (*Ep. Report of the Southern Circle for 1935, p.* 67). Read also Panchamukhi, *Progress Report for 1941-1946,* p. 24.

mahājanas, 8 *nagaras*, and 120 *ūrāvis* of *Ārryapura* to the local goddess Durgā Bhagavati.[193] Evidently the 500 *mahājanas*, which term is usually given in the inscriptions of western and southern India to Brahmanas, were distinct from the 500 *svāmis* of Aihoḷe, who figure in records and who formed the Executive Board of the commercial organizations of those times. It is not unlikely that we have to refer the inscription mentioned above to the days of the Early Cālukyas of Bādāmi when Aihoḷe figures as a prominent centre. This is evident from the stone tablet in the Meghūti temple at the same place, dated A.D. 634-35, and of the time of the famous early Cālukya monarch Pulikeśin II.[194] The next historical record is the stone inscription assigned to A.D. 708 of the reign of the Western Cālukya ruler Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733).[195] The third record hailing from the same place is dated A.D. 1182 which registers a grant of the various incomes made by the merchant guilds and the 500 *svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe.[196] Aihoḷe has also yielded stone inscriptions of the Sindas of Yelburga, who played an important part in the history of Karnāṭaka in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.[197] These records establish the fact that from the sixth century A.D. till the end of the twelfth century, Aihoḷe was a great political and commercial city. When we realise that only such places which were politically or commercially important which could have come to the notice of foreign travellers and geographers like Ptolemy, we may agree to the identification of Aihoḷe with Aloe as given in the list of the great geographer Ptolemy.

That author places next to Aloe the town of Karoura which he calls the royal seat of Kerapothros.[198] The name Karour without the qualification of its being the seat of Kerabothros would easily have been identified with Kārūr, better known as Vajra Kārūr, where diamonds were discovered in the age of the Vijayanagara monarchs. The diamond treasury (*Vajra-bhaṇḍāra*) of the Vijayanagara monarchs was established here at Kārūr in A.D. 1531.[199] The entire region of Anantpur-Kurnool within which

---

[193] *No. 289 of the Bombay-Karnataka List for 1928-29.*
[194] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
[195] Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 372.
[196] Panchamukhi, *Progress Report for 1941-46*, p. 24.
[197] Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 572, 578.
[198] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
[199] Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I. p. 207.

Kārūr was situated, was a part of Karnāṭaka in the ancient times.[200] Scholars have identified the Karour of Ptolemy with Kārūr which is supposed to have been the capital of the Cera kingdom, on the assumption that Kerabothros is the same word as Keralaputra.[201] But the identification of the capital of the Ceras is still a matter of uncertainty, since the only capital hitherto associated with them is Vañji which figures in early Tamil literature, particularly in the classical work entitled Śilappadikāram.[202] The identification of Vañji with Kārūr is not generally accepted by the Tamil scholars.[203] But the explicit statement of Ptolemy that Karour was the royal seat of Kerabothros seems to suggest that in the second century A.D., when that geographer wrote his narrative, Kārūr was perhaps one of the capitals of the Cera kingdom, distinct from another town of the same name which he has later on mentioned in his treatise, and which we shall identify presently. What lends support to our assumption that Karour mentioned by Ptolemy was very near the limits of Karnāṭaka is the fact that the next two places mentioned by him are centres in Karnāṭaka proper. These were Bideris and Pantipolis. Bideris has been identified with Erode in the Coimbatore district.[204] But there are no valid grounds for this identification. It may as well be that Bideris was no other than Bidire or Mūḍubidre in Tuḷuva (modern South Kanara) which has figured in history since the ninth century A.D., when it was first colonized by Jaina traders.[205] From the purely political point of view, Bidire or Mūḍubidire became prominent in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D.[206] In A.D. 1398 it witnessed a batile between the Vijayanagara Mahāpradhāna Mangappa Daṇḍanāyaka and the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Haivarasa, the latter being the leader of the recalcitrant Cauṭas.[207] Bidire, we may incidentally add, has always remained a prominent commercial centre of Tuḷuva throughout later history.

---

[200] I have discussed this fully in my *Karnātaka's Trans. Oceanic Contacts,* Appendix.

[201] Sastri, *ibid.,* p. 182.

[202] *Śilappadikaram,* pp. 145, 235, 241, 283, 296, 310, 312, 317, 322; 324; 328, 332, n, 336 (Trans. by Ramachandra Dikshitar Oxford, 1939).

[203] The late Professor V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar following Pandit R. Raghava Aiyangar. Read Dikshitar, *Śilappadikaram,* Intr., p. 48, and *ibid.,* n. (1) for reference. Professor K. G. Sesha Aiyar likewise is not prepared to identify the Cera capital with Kārur or Kāravūru. Read his *Cera Kings of the Śangham Period,* Ch. 5 (1937); *Journal of Indian History,* XII (1933), pp. 184-214. See also Dikshitar, *ibid.,* pp. 235, n. (1), 294, n. (5), where Professor Dikshitar seems to agree to the view that Vañji was Kārūr, although on p. 48, *ibid.,* he seems to be doubtful about it.

[204] Sastri, *op. cit.,* p. 182.

[205] Saletore, *Hist. of Tuluva,* (*op. cit.*), pp. 406-408.

Next to Bideris is mentioned Pantipolis by Ptolemy. This was rightly identified by Yule with Pāntipura near Hanugal in the Dharwar district.[208] But no proof was adduced by him in support of this identification. We may now give evidence to maintain that by Pantipolis was meant Pāntipura. In the Kiru-Kuppaṭūr copper-plate of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmman I, dated only in his 15th regnal year, we are informed that at the instance of his dear son Ravivarmman, the king granted the village of Kiru-Kuppaṭūr in the Pāntipura-viṣaya to a Brahman called Svāmśarmman.[209] The dates of the early Kadamba kings, it must be confessed, are far from being settled. But if we start with king Mayūraśarmman, the founder of the early Kadamba dynasty, whom we have already mentioned above, and assign him to the middle of the third century A.D., and allot a reign of twenty-five years to every one of his successors, we come to *circa* A.D. 550 as the age of king Ravivarmman, and to his collateral contemporary Simhavarmman whose son Kṛṣṇavarmman II may be assigned to A.D. 525, and the latter's *priyaputra* Ravivarmman to *circa* A.D. 550. This would mean that the reference to Pāntipura in the reign of Ravivarman would have to be assigned to *circa* A.D. 550, and the reign of Kṛṣṇavarmman to *circa* A.D. 525. In either case we would be justified in dating the antiquity of Pāntipura to the sixth century A.D. This conclusion of ours is corroborated by the characters of the Kiru-Kuppaṭūr grant which, in the opinion of R. S.

---

[206] For further details, read Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 119, 120, 143-145 ff.

[207] Panchamukhi, *Karnataka Inscriptions*, I. p. 83.

[208] Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 182. McCrindle calls Pantiyapura in Hangal, Dharwar district. (*Ptolemy*, p. 182).

[209] Panchamukhi, *ibid.*, II. pp. 1-4. On page ii, Mr. Panchamukhi refers to a record of Ravivarmman himself which I am unable to trace. The reference is to *Ind. Ant.* IV. p. 181.

Panchamukhi, are of the sixth century A.D. [210]. That Pāntipura continued to be a prominent place even in the first quarter of the eleventh century is proved by a stone inscription dated A.D. 1022 of the reign of the Western Cālukya monarch Jagadekamalla (Jayasimha III, A.D. 1018-1042) which records a gift of land by Saumya Govinda, during the administration of the Mahāsāmanta Mailarasa over the Pānugal country, to the Mulasthāna *maṭha* at Kāntipaṭṭana which was evidently the same as Kāntipura.[211]

Ptolemy next mentions Adarina and Koreour. Of these the first is unidentifiable but the second was undoubtedly the Kārūru of diamond fame which as already stated above, was a town in Karnāṭaka proper. Ptolemy mentions next to Kareour "Inland town of the Aioi, Morounda", which again has not been identified.[212] This city brings the list of towns on the western coast to an end. The town of Morounda may be identified with Murudeśvara, a village about 18 miles south of Kumṭā in the North Kanara district. In this connection we may note that R. S. Panchamukhi has boldly suggested that the name of this place be traced to the word Muruṇḍa or Muruḍa,[213] a people who have figured in the early centuries of the Christian era in northern and north-western Indian history. If this is accepted, we may identify Morounda of Ptolemy with Murudeśvara in North Kanara. At any rate the great celebrity of this place which is connected with Rāvaṇa, is a factor in favour of its antiquity.

Before we proceed with the identification of other centres in ancient Karnāṭaka, and with the description of the foreign trade which passed through its western ports, we may take our stand with Ptolemy in order to understand one or two important points. These relate to the number of centres and the language in which they are mentioned. Leaving aside the ports in Konkan proper, we come across about twenty centres both on the coast and in the interior mentioned by Ptolemy. It is evident that, since the age of the *Periplus* (first century A.D.), the number of commercial and political centres in Karnāṭaka had increased to a large extent. In the long list of towns and cities given by Ptolemy, we may unequivocally single out the following as being Kannaḍa names of towns:—Valipaṭṇa, Deopli, Iṇḍe, Omengara, Sirimalaga, Kalligeris, Moudgall, Oloikhoira, Pasage, Pounnata, Bideris, and Pantipolis. These Kannaḍa names proves beyond doubt that the Kannaḍa language existed in the second century A.D.

---

[210] Panchamukhi, *Progress Report for 1941-46*, p. 38. See also Panchamukhi, *Digest for 1940-41*, p. 3 where the learned scholar maintains that the characters of the grant closely resemble those of the Badami cliff inscription of the Cālukya Vallabheśvara (Pulikeśin I) dated Śaka 465 (A.D. 543).

[211] *No. 6 of the Bombay Karnatak List for 1929-1930.*

[212] Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[213] Panchamukhi, *Annual Report for 1939-1940*, p. 24 ff.

Political and Military Aspects of the Reign of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah

(Continued from J.I.H., December 1961, p. 533)

PART II

BY

PROF. H. K. SHERWANI, M.L.C.,

The Eastern Border.

We have digressed much from the internal history of Tilangana in order to trace the advance of the Mughal influence into the Deccan, and thus, in a way, forestall the march of events in the Quṭbshāhī kingdom. We have brought the story of the Mughal aggression right up to the end of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The closing years of the Sulṭān's rule were full of moment for the future of Tilangana, and it is remarkable how the ease-loving and amorous monarch was to a large extent successful in beating back the enemies of the kingdom mainly owing to his selection of advisers of worth and merit.[63]

The first hurdle which Tilangana had to overcome was the rebellion of 'Alī Khān Lūr who had been entitled Malik Na'ib by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. When the king was at Naldrug measuring swords with the army of Bijapur, he had appointed 'Alī Khān to be in charge of Muretaḍānagar-Konḍavīḍu. When 'Alī Khān reached the citadel he found that Rai Rao, the Brahman Commandant, would not quit his charge. Such was the selfishness rampant even in some of the highest officers of the State that instead of appealing to the Sulṭan, ʻAlī K̲h̲ān actually went to the length of appealing to Venkaṭa II of Penūkoṇḍa for help. Venkaṭa obliged him by ordering his son-in-law Mēkūr Timma to proceed to Koṇḍavīḍu with three thousand Vijayanagari horse and fifty elephants. The invading army first beseiged Kambam which lay on the way but it was driven back and pursued by the royal troops under Rai Rao, and it was with some difficulty that the traitor ʻAlī K̲h̲ān could betake himself to Penūkoṇḍa. But he was ill-received by Venkaṭa, and as he expected no quarters with the Quṭbshāhī command either, he collected a private army and ravaged the countryside while the young Sulṭān was away at Naldrug.

---

[63] For the amorous propensities of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, see Dr. Zor, *Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, pp. 24 ff.: *Kulliyāt Muḥammad-Quṭb Shāh*, edited by Dr. Zor, especially odes on the seventeen amours of the Sulṭān. The complex personality of the monarch can be seen in his ease-loving way of life coupled with his personal interest in the affairs of the State. We see him go to the battlefield fighting shoulder to shoulder with his allies, dispensing justice, patronising literature and art and supervising the construction of the magnificent edifices which are still the glory of the city he founded, and selecting men of eminence as his ministers of state. See Sherwani, *Some Cultural Aspects of the Reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, Journal of Medieval Indian History, Aligarh, April, 1958.

When the state of affairs was brought to the notice of the Sulṭān he sent two of his Paṭhān officers, Raḥīmdād K̲h̲ān and Ṭāhir Muḥammad K̲h̲ān against the rebel. They chased him out to Nekoṇḍapallī and out of the fortress of Addanki. ʻAlī K̲h̲ān now repaired to Niẓāmpatanam and forced the merchants to a levy in money as well as in kind, and then with great intrepidity marched on to Koṇḍavīḍu. He was for a moment successful and was able to take a number of forts one after another. But in the end the two commanders who had been sent from Golkonda proved to be too strong for him and he was killed in battle.[64]

---

[64] For the rebellion of ʻAli K̲h̲ān Lūr see *Q.S.*, pp. 240-43. There is no doubt that the place which was beseiged by the Vijayanagar forces was Kumbum in the Karnul district (15°35′ N. 79″6′ E.) not Khammam which is the headquarters of a district in Andhra Pradesh, as the former is in greater proximity of Kondavīdu and would be the natural point where a stand would be made. It should be noted here that this campaign, like so many others during the Quṭbshāhī period, had no basis on communalism at all as we know it; for we find Rāi Rāo, the Brahman commandant of the Quṭbshāhī forces, fighting ʻAli K̲h̲ān Lūr who is actively helped by the Vijayanagar State.

Dr. Zor, in his biography of the Sulṭān, p. 246 gives 990-994 as the date of the rebellion, but I have not been able to find it mentioned in *Q.S.*, which seems to be the source of his narrative so far as this rebellion is concerned. On the other hand the eminent authors of *Further Sources*, 312, seem to think that the advance of the Quṭbshāhī army into Vijayanagar territory immediately followed the rebellion of ʻAlī K̲h̲ān Lūr. This is also not vouchsafed by the evidence before us. ʻAlī K̲h̲ān's rebellion took place

This rebellion itself was of some importance as it opened the eyes of the administration that it was necessary to put the army on sound basis when mere freebooters could keep it at bay for a long time. Moreover it had involved the Court of Penūkoṇḍa in a serious quarrel with Tilangana, and evidently Muḥammad-Qulī did not forget this attempted hit in the back. Just now, however, he was busy planning and founding the magnificent city of Ḥaidarabād over the plans prepared by his great Pēshwa, Mīr Mu'min.[65]

But there was to be no peace for the King, even on his western frontier. We have already noticed elsewhere that during the end of the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh the two frontier outposts of Kakni and Nawalki had been occupied by the Tilangana army. The Sulṭān now appointed his tried general Raḥīmdād K͟hān, whom he gave the title of 'Alam K͟hān, to guard the Bijapur-Tilangana frontier. The 'Adilshāhī pēshwa, Dilāwar K͟hān Ḥabashī, sent a large army of ten thousand regulars under 'Ainu'l-mulk and 'Askar K͟hān to dislodge the Tilangana forces. Muḥammad-Qúlī now

---

while the King was at Naldrug right in the beginning of his reign; *Q.S.*, 343, where the campaign is put down as having been undertaken *before* the foundation of Ḥaidarābād in 1000/1592 while the Penukoṇḍa campaign (which *N. & V.* tack on to 'Alī K͟hān's rebellion, III, 312-17) was undertaken 'many years' after the foundation of the new capital (*Briggs*, III, 453). It should be noted that in the chapter on Venkaṭa II the learned authors of *Further Sources* almost invariably name the King of Tilangana *Sulṭān Qulī*, while as a matter of fact his name was Muḥammad-Qulī, *Muḥammad* being a part of his name, much as *Sulṭan* was a part of the name of his distinguished grandfather the founder of the dynasty. Venkaṭa II (1588-1614) was in continuous conflict with Muḥammad-Qulī almost from the time of his accession; see Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 325.

Konḍuvīḍu-Murtaḍānagar; hill-fort in Narasarāopēt taluqa, Gunṭūr district, A.P., 16°16'N., 78°10'E. *Konḍāpalli-Musṭafānagar;* hill-fort in Vijayawada taluqa, Krishna district, A.P., 16"37'N., 80°33'E.

Addankī; in Ongole taluqa, Guntur district, A.P.; 15°49'N., 79°85'E.

Nekondapalli; in the Khammamēt taluqa in District of that name, A.P., 17°7'N., 80°3'F.

Niẕāmpatam; a small seaport in the Ṭenālī taluqa of Gunṭūr district A.P.; 15°55'n., 80°41'E.

[65] For the foundation of the new capital and the culture which it represented see Sherwani, *Foundation of Ḥaidarābād,* J.P.H.S., October, 1958; *Some Cultural Aspects of the Reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh,* Medieval India Quarterly January-April, 1958.

approached Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar to help him. Murtaḍā immediately responded and sent Mīrza Yādgār Bēg, Rustam K͟hān and Shamshīr K͟hān with two or three thousand horse towards frontier. The terrain seemed to be difficult and the allied commanders preferred to fight a guerilla war. The prolonged fighting resulted in the evacuation of the district by the Bijāpurīs.[66]

Bijapur was in those days hemmed in by a number of enemies, and Dilāwar K͟hān considered it advisable to approach Muḥammad-Qulī for a settlement. He therefore sent K͟hwajā 'Alī Maliku't-Tujjār to Ḥaidarabad with valuable presents for the King accompanied by a proposal for the marriage of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh with Muḥammad-Qulī's sister Chānd Sulṭānā. The cavalcade proceeded to Golkonda, and was met at each stop by deputies of the Ḥaidarābād court to receive them. When they reached the capital they were received right royally by the King. The nuptial ceremonies were celebrated *in absentia* and the Princess was taken to Naldrug where Ibrāhīm met her. She was given the title of *Malika-i Jahān* or "The Queen of the World" by her husband.[67]

Muḥammad-Qulī must have been touched to the quick by the defalcation of 'Alī Khān Lūr and his traitorous conduct that he had sought the help of Venkaṭa II against his own royal master. He remembered the comparative ease with which his grandfather had subdued Konḍavīḍu and has thus brought practically the whole of the Telugu speaking population under one sceptre.[68] But the Sulṭān was not in a great hurry. He evidently wanted to organize his government and his army before undertaking any punitive expedition, and it was "many years" before any move was made southwards.[69]

It was in fact after 1006/1593 that Muḥammad-Qulī sent his Mir Jumla Amīnu'l-Mulk with a strong force to the south. He had heard that Rāmarāj's son-in-law Basawanta Rāj and his sister's son Narasimha Rāj were in occupation of the forts of Nandyāl and Kalagūr respectively, and it was necessary to dislodge

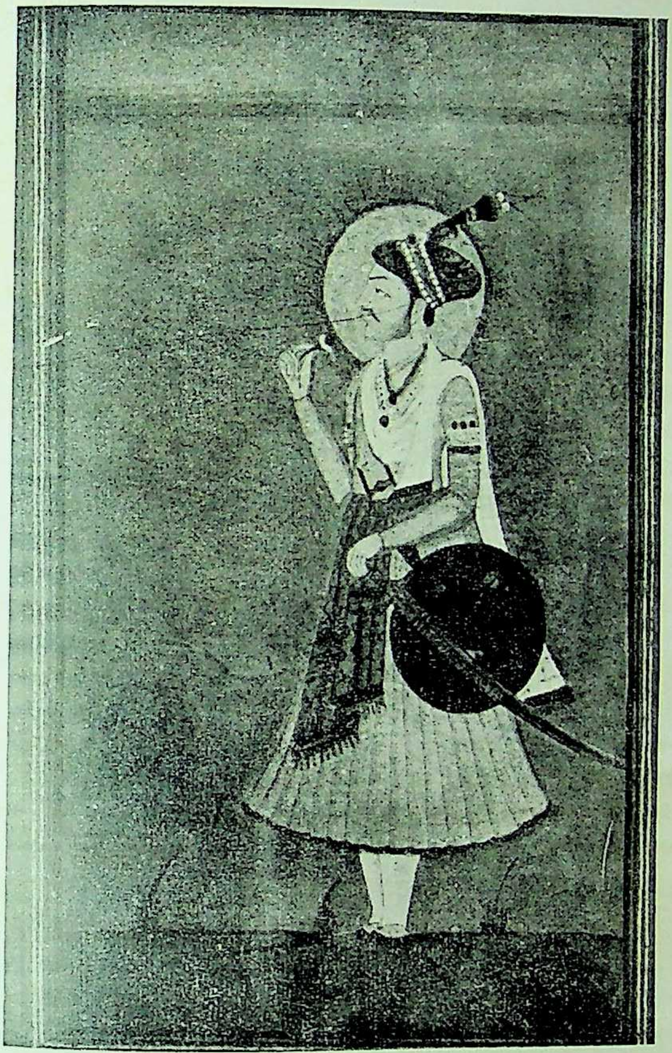
---

[66] For the attack of Bijapur on Tilangana see *Q.S.*, 244- 47; *Fer.*, II, 54.

[67] Details of the marriage; *Fer.*, 257-258.

[68] See Sherwani, *Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk*, J.I.H. 1956, p. 16.

[69] *Briggs*, III, 453; *Q.S.*, 254, says that it was *after* the foundation of Ḥaidarābād and the construction of the Jāmi' Masjid there in 1006-1597 that the expedition was sent.



MUHAMMAD-QULI QUTB SHAH
—*Courtesy*: A. P. Archaeological Department.

them. In order to make the campaign fully effective he himself followed and joined the main army. He crossed the Krishna at Musalimuḍūgū and laid siege to the fort which was soon captured. When Narasimha Rāj heard of this calamity and of the invading army he thought it futile to offer any resistance and sent messengers to the royal camp saying that he would lay down his arms provided that he and his family were allowed to depart in safety. The Sulṭan thereupon ordered not merely that his family should be left unmolested but also that his property should be left intact and secure.[70] This was followed by the evacuation of Nandyāl by Basawanta Rāj and the voluntary submission of the other chiefs of the locality all of whom agreed to pay tribute to the Sulṭān in exchange for their being left in possesion of their territory. It also resulted in the occupation of the forts of Gooty, Karnūl and Ganḍīkōtā.[71]

This sweeping movement of the royal forces and the submission of practically all the chiefs between the Krishna and Penūkonḍa encouraged the Sulṭān to strike at the capital itself, and after the reduction of Ganḍikōtā he ordered Amīnu'l-mulk to press forward against it. It appears that Venkaṭa did not offer any resistance before the royal army reached the walls of Penūkonḍa. The Rāya, being fully aware that he would not be able to face the army in the open field had recourse to a ruse. He sent his ministers Goparāj Timma and Pāpaiyah Seṭṭī with an autograph letter and costly presents to the Sulṭān requesting him to agree to an armistice of three days preparatory to a permanent treaty. The Sulṭān accepted the presents and was perhaps so much impressed by the apparent sincerity of the envoys that he ordered the royal troops to raise the siege. Taking advantage of this God-sent opportunity the Rāya filled the citadel as well as the city with provisions. When the period of the truce ended, instead of offering to sign a permanent treaty he called some of his feudatories such as Achyūta Nāik of Tanjore, and ordered Jagadēva Rao, Velugōṭi

---

[70] *Q.S.*, 256, *N. & V.* I, 813, calls the commander Ammerulmulk, a name which is not vouchsafed by our authorities.

[71] *Nandyal*, hqrs. of a sub-division of the Karnūl district, A.P., 15°30′N., 78″29′E. *Gooty*, hqrs. of a sub-division of Anantapur district, A.P. 15°50′N., 78°4′E. *Ganḍikōtā*, a small hill-fort in the Jumalmaḍūgū taluqa of the Cuddapah district, A.P., 14°47′N., 78°16′E. *Musalimaḍūgū*, in the Nandikotkur taluqa of Karnūl district, A.P., 16°22′N., 78°3′E.

Chinna, Maṭlī Ananta, his own son Venkaṭapati and others to attack the Tilangāna army with thirty thousand horse and four thousand musketteers.[72] It was now that the king discovered his mistake in having put faith in Venkaṭa's truth, and when he ordered that the fort be besieged again his own officers told him that now Penūkoṇḍa was well provided for and it would take months to reduce the city by which time the Krishna would be in floods and it would be impossible for the army to get back home.[73]

This must have been a terrible blow to the prestige of the Sulṭān. His army had proved its strength on the battlefield and conquered fort after fort; it had maintained its commissariat arrangements aganist heavy odds; it had coped with the defences of the southern kingdom and it was on the point of finally eliminating it. But the Sulṭān had utterly failed as a diplomat and, far from being on the brink of precipice the enemy was now entrenched not merely in a safe but in an aggressive position. It is difficult to understand the reason which prompted the Sulṭān to withdraw his forces from the capital when all that was asked for was just three days' truce in preparation of a permanent peace treaty. It shows either an utter lack of diplomatic talent on the part of the Sulṭān's advisers or, which is more or less the same thing, the high moral tone of the Sulṭān which bordered on an absence of correctly judging his mortal enemy by their own standards. It is also quite possible that some of the leaders of the royal army might have been in secret pourparlers with the rebel 'Alī Khān Lūr and might have advised the Sulṭān to take the unwise step of withdrawing his forces. However that might be, a great opportunity was lost by the army of Tilangāna and it had no alternative but to fall back on the line of the Krishna.[74]

---

[72] *Q.S.*, 259; *N. & V.*, I, 314; *Velugot.*, Intr., 52. Raghunātha, chief of Tanjore, in *Raghunāthabhudayamu Sources*, 285, where Raghunātha is said to have played a prominent part in the campaign.

[73] See *N. & V.*, 314. Strangely, *Fer.* does not mention the campaign at all.

[74] As is clear from the next paragraph, there was rearguard action and severe fighting before the Sulṭān's troops retreated; see *N. & V.*, I, 315, where the Sidhout inscriptions of Maṭlā Anantā, and the *Raghunāthabhudayamu* have been quoted. See also *Aravidu*, 328, where references are made to *M.E.R.*, 916, p. 148, para 178; Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Vellanguḍi Plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, etc.

Our Persian authorities do not mention the fighting which must have raged between the two opposing forces before the retreat of the Tilangāna army. It is related in some of the copper plate grants of the period that the action on the banks of the Pennar was so intense that "the river was crimson with the blood of the soldiers killed" in battle. The fighting might have been protracted, for it is said that the Sulṭān's army was defeated over and over again by the army of Penūkonḍa. Before recrossing the Krishna the Sulṭān made sure that the defence of the territory lying between the Pennar and the Krishna was made as secure as possible; he therefore gave charge of Musalimaḍugu to Aśva Rao, of Ganḍikoṭa to Sanjar Khān and of Nandyāl to Jagat Rao. He also appointed Murtaḍa Khān, chief commander of the forces which were left behind. After making these arrangements the Sulṭān retraced his steps towards Ḥaidarābād.[75]

The ruse on the part of Venkaṭa as well as the utter simplicity of the Sulṭān's temperament had turned scales definitely in favour of Penūkonḍa, and the Rāya now ordered the invasion of the Tilangāna proper. However, when he consulted his generals they advised him that even in defeat the army of Tilangāna was too strong to be faced in the open field at once and suggested that a diversion be made against Murtaḍanagar-Konḍavīḍu. At the same time they advised him to send an army to help Kapiladēva, the ruler of Udayagiri who was evidently laying waste the surrounding country which belonged to the Tilangāna State.[76] On the other hand the commandant of Konḍavīḍu Afẓal Khān got into agreement with the loyal chiefs of the neighbourhood to lay waste the territory lying immediately round the fort of Udayagiri. There must have been some fighting between the opposing forces, but we are not aware of the details. Probably there was no pitched battle but a protracted guerilla warfare, at the end of which Koṇḍavīḍu was saved for the Sulṭān.[77]

---

[75] *Q.S.*, 258-259. This is another evidence of the perfect harmony which prevailed between the various sections of the population of Tilangana. That the Sulṭān should have entrusted the charge of some of the most important frontier posts to Aśva Rāo and Jagat Rāo shows his great confidence in these two non-Muslim officers.

[76] *N. & V.*, 253 and *Velug.*, Intr., 54 have another story. They rely on the *Kaifiyat* of Cittivelli, which says that a section of the Sulṭān's army, aided by Uriya and Manne chiefs reached Kamalakuru in the Siddhavatam taluqa of the Cuddapah district and another section reached Gurramkonda in the Vayalpadu taluqa of the Chittor district. The army sent by Venkata II routed the Sulṭān's army at Kamalakuru and chased it as far as Koccerlakota and later drove the Tilangana army from Gurramkonda as well. The *Kaifiyat* is reproduced verbtim in *N. & V.*, III, document 216, p. 271 and translated in II, p. 271. *N. & V.* I, 316 also refer to documents 202 which is reproduced on III, p. 260, which is taken bodily from *Velug.*, pp. 93-96. At the end of this document it is expressly stated that "this battle (of

But Venkaṭa would not let Muḥammad-Qulī rest in peace. The Krishna was in spate and it was impossible for the Tilangāna army to be sent to the help of those who were virtually besieged at Koṇḍavīḍu and elsewhere. Venkaṭa now sent a large army consisting of a lac of troops under Timayya, Gulranga Seṭṭi, Manuparaj and Velugoṭi Chennappa to Gaṇḍikōṭa. The fort which was under the command of *sarnaubat* Sanjar K͟hān was closely invested. On the other side Murtaḍa K͟hān swung round and made a sudden attack on Cuddapah. This completely upset Venkaṭa's plans and he ordered Timmarāj and Manuparāj to proceed against Murtaḍa K͟hān, but they were defeated and put to flight. The Sulṭān now sent *sarnaubat* G͟haẓnafar K͟hān, alias Rustam K͟hān, with five thousand horse to help Murtaḍā K͟hān. A rift soon appeared in the counsels of the Sulṭān's army, for Rustam K͟hān began to insist that he was the Commander-in-Chief and it was his orders which must be followed. The result was that Rustam K͟hān precipitately crossed the river, resulting in the complete rout of his army and the capture of Gaṇḍikōṭa by Velugoṭī Chennappa. The net result of this was the shifting of the frontier of Tilangana back to the Krishna, and the sole outpost left to the Sulṭān on the other side of the river was the stronghold of Koṇḍavīḍu. When Muḥammad-Qulī heard of the debacle he forthwith dismissed Rustam K͟hān and expelled him from the kingdom.[78]

Revolts in the East

The confidence which the Sulṭān had reposed in some of the commanders who had been sent to frontier posts on the south-

---

Koccerlakota) was fought in S.S. 1501 (1579 A.C.), i.e., 33 years before the Peuukonda campaign, and can have nothing to do with it.

[77] Thus in *Q.S.*, 253; *N. & V.* I, 316, have Kowladanda as the name of the chief. *Udayagiri*; hqrs. of a taluqa in the Nellore district, A.P.; 14°53′ N., 79°18′E. *Gaṇḍikoṭa*; on the Pennar, in the Jummalaḍugu taluqa of the Cuddapah district, A.P.; 14°47′ N., 78°16′ E.

[78] The campaign is vividly described in *Q.S.*, 258-262.

eastern border of the State did not bear fruit. Some time about 1589-90 K͟hān-i K͟hānan, Bhalé Rao had 'Alam entered into a conspiracy and unfurled the banner of rebellion, and even sent word to Venkatapaṭī of Penūkoṇḍa to help them against the Sulṭān. The Rāya sent a strong force of ten thousand horse, and joining hands with the traitors they began to lay waste the country round Murtaḍānagar-Konḍavīḍu. When the Sulṭān heard of these developments he appointed Amīnu'l-mulk Pēshwa of the kingdom and sent him to the eastern border to chastise the rebels. As Kowlananda the chief of Udayagiri was actually siding with the rebels he was caught and beheaded. This seems to have greatly frightened the rebels who now retreated to the fortress of Ardingi without offering battle. Amīnu'l-mulk now pursued the rebels and put to sword all who barred his way. After the campaign was over and the rebels subdued Amīnu'l-mulk repaired to the capital and was received by the Sulṭān with much honour.[79]

This rebellion was followed by further turmoil, and this time on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom. It has already been pointed out that the part of southern Orissa with its centre at Qāsimkoṭa was ruled by chiefs of the Bahubulendra's family, and this was constituted as a Quṭbshāhī protectorate in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī's father, Ibrāhīm, when the Gajapati Raja of Ganjam was ousted by the Golkonda forces.[80] The name of the feudatory Raja of Qāsimkōta appears to be Narasimha *alias* Singabhūpāla, and when he died in 1590 he was succeeded by his twelve year old son, Mukandrāj Bahubulendra as the feudatory of Ḥaidarābād.[81] He received the robe of honour at the hands of the

[79] Q.S., 264-266; *Aravidu*, 331-332, where reference is made to the inscription on the eastern gate of the Ammavaru temple at Aminabad (*Sources*, 239-240). In this inscription Aminu'l-mulk is said to have cleared the country of rebels much in the same way as darkness is cleared before the rising son. The date of the inscription is April 4, 1592, and the year of the rebellion is indicated as 1589-90.

[80] See Sherwani, *Tilangana under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh*, J.I.H., April, 1958, p. 84.

[81] The name of the father. *S.I.I.*, X, No. 750, mentioned by Rama Rao, *Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's Campaign against Kalinga*, Potdar Commemoration Volume, 1950, p. 117. Of course Dr. Rama Rao is wrong when he says that it is Ferishta who mentions this campaign; it is really *Tārīkh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, generally known as the *Quṭbshāhī* which gives a fairly elaborate account of the campaign, and it is the epitomised translation

Sulṭān himself who issued a proclamation to all the chiefs and officers of the Qāsimkōta locality to do honour to their new chief. But when Mukandraj returned home from Ḥaidarābād he raised his standard of rebellion against the paramount power, and after putting to death all those who were loyal to the Quṭbshāhī throne seized the royal treasury located there.[82] The Sulṭān now appointed K͟han-i Zamān Mīr Zainu'l-'Abidīn as *sar-lashkar* and sent him with a large army to Qāsimkōṭa to quell the rebellion. The King wanted to lead the defence force himself but he was dissuaded by his courtiers who represented to him that the campaign was, after all, not of such a great importance that the King should assume the command himself. He also ordered that Amīnu'l-mulk and Shankarrāj, who was a near relation of Mukandrāj and was of proved loyalty to the throne,[83] to accompany the royal troops. Mukand now sent urgent messages to Venkaṭa of Penukoṇḍa to hurry to his help and to attack Koṇḍavīḍu by way of diversion, while he himself advanced into Quṭbshāhī territory towards Rājahmundri. Before engaging Mukand in battle Amīnu'l-mulk sent a message to the rebel to desist from fighting, but it was of no avail. He engaged the royal forces with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry at Rājahmundri where he was defeated and fled to Qāsimkōṭa where he put to death Birlās K͟hān the Quṭbshāhī Resident and other high officials. He was pursued by Amīnu'l-mulk as far as Piṭhāpuram and thence into the thick jungle which surrounds this place. Knowing fully well that he would not be able to withstand the

---

of this work which has been appended to the translation of Ferishta by Col. Briggs.

[82] *Aravidu*, 269, says that Mukand imprisoned the Sulṭān's deputy, Barlās K͟hān, but I do not find this in *Q.S.*, 269, where Barlās is said to have brought the serious state of affairs to the notice of th Sulṭān. Barlās K͟hān was later put to death by Mukand when he returned to Rājahmundri frustrated at his defeat.

[83] In the geneology given by Dr. Rama Rao on p. 118 of the Potdar Volume *op. cit.*, he shows Shankar to be Mukand's cousin, while *Q.S.*, 269 calls him his brother-in-law, which is not inconsistant with Dr. Rama Rao's geneology; but Father Heras says in *Aravidu*, 333 that he was "Bhaibulandar's" nephew, which is not correct unless by "Bhaibulandar" he means Shankarrāj's father whose nephew he was. Although *Q.S.* does not give the date of the campaign it says that it took place when Murad was besieging Aḥmadnagar, i.e., in 1004 H.

royal army he wrote for help to Rāmchandra, one of the powerful chiefs of the locality as well as to Madhava Singh who was Akbar's Rajput governor of northern Orissa.[84] Madhava Singh did proceed southwards with a large army but thought fit to retire on Amīnu'l-mulk's approach, while Rāmchandra laid down his arms. Amīnu'l-mulk left Aśva Rao and Malik Nā'ib in charge of the territory pacified and himself returned to Qāsimkōta.[85]

It was probably the softness in the Sulṭān's character which was responsible for the trouble even at home. We are aware that the name of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah's eldest son was 'Abdu'l-Qādir. He was married with great pomp to a girl of the family of Shāh Khalīlu'l-Iāh son of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī. It was probably this union which earned for him the nickname of Shāh Ṣāhib, a title which is usually given to persons who are closely related to the *mashā'ikh* or hereditary guardians of some shrine or other. It appears that it was not all well for the young prince for he was confined at the fort of Dēwarkoṇḍa even in the time of his father soon after his marriage. When he was afflicted by the illness which cost him his life his brother, the Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī, sent his own royal physician to treat him, but it was of no avail and the prince did not survive his illness. His mortal remains were brought to the royal necropolis near Golkonda and burried there.

---

[84] Raja Mānsīngh invaded Orissa on behalf of the Emperor Akbar in 1590 and completed the conquest of the northern part of the country, up to the river Mahānadī in 1592.

[85] Very curiously the late Father Heras disbelieved the testimony of *Q.S.* as translated by *Briggs,* III, 465, that Mukandraj was pursued by Amīnu'l-mulk, and said in the note on p. 333 of *Aravidu* that "Muhammadan writers ...... proclaim an imaginary great victory obtained......over the Hindus." He further argues that "if the young Raja did not succeed in seizing Barlas Khan....when there was not in the country such a formidable army of Golkonda it is impossible that he could put him to death on this occasion in the face of so large an army commanded by the Amir Jumla." As a matter of fact the argument is purely conjectural and there is no evidence that Mukandraj ever fought a winning battle against Amīnu'l-mulk. When he sought the help of the Rāya of Peṇūkoṇḍa and others he himself advanced to meet Amīnu'l-mulk and possibly kept Barlās in confinement at his capital. But he had to retreat precipitately, and frustrated as he was, put him as well as other potential enemies to death. In all probability he had already planned to quit, and so he did not expect any dire consequences of this deed at the hands of Amīnu'l-mulk.

It was about 990/1592 that a person who was born about the same time as the prince claimed that he was the real Shāh Ṣāhib who had escaped from the prison and had not met his death at all. As it was at Bīdar that the claim was made Muḥammad-Qulī wrote to 'Ali Barīd II of Bīdar that the pseudo Shāh Ṣāhib was an impostor and should be arrested and confined to prison. But the descendants of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh, who exercised a considerable amount of influence at the Barīdī court and who no doubt wanted to make capital out of their relationship with the real prince, somehow secured his release. He immediately hurried southwards, got the support of some of the discontented amirs and grandees of the kingdom and proclaimed himself King of Tilangana on the banks of the Krishna.

Muḥammad-Qulī now appointed I'tibār K͟hān, who then commanded the garrison of Koṇḍavīḍu, to proceed to Pangal and check the impostor from marching into Tilangana. By that time the pseudo Shah Sahib had gathered a considerable force under his banner. But I'tibār K͟hān was able to give him a signal defeat and he had to fly to Bījāpūr and seek the protection of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II. We hear nothing more of Shah Sahib.[86]

---

[86] For "Shāh Ṣāhib's" rebellion see *Q.S.*, 266-67. *Briggs*, III, 461 note, has suggested that the name of the prince was 'Abdu'l-Qādir because he was educated by a saint who lies burried under a large dome at Paṭāncheru. As a matter of fact the domed structure near Paṭancherū contains the mortal remains of the Quṭbshāhī nobleman, Amīn K͟hān, whose natal name was 'Abdu'l-Qādir; see Bashiru'd-din, *Wāqi'āt Mamlukat Bijapur,* II, 544; and Sherwani, *Cultural and Administrative set-up under Ibrahim Quṭb Shāh,* I.C., April, 1957, p. 6. Briggs' conjecture that the prince was educated by a "holy man" who is interred at Paṭancherū is all wrong.

Dr. Zor, in his *Sulṭān Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh* has certain conjectures with regard to Shāh Ṣāhib which are not substantiated by facts. On p. 268 he gives the date of the rebellion to be 1004 H, which does not seem to be correct. It is definitely stated in *Q.S.*, 267 that Shāh Ṣāhib was married during the life-time of his father and died three years after his marriage during the reign of his brother. Ibrāhīm did in 968, so it must have been about 970 that 'Abdu'l-Qādir died. Twenty years after 970 would make 990/1582, not 1004/1596. The learned doctor also throws out a suggestion on p. 273 that the pretender was the real Shāh Ṣāhib for, had he not been so Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shah, who was the husband of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's sister, would have put him to death as a traitor to his brother-in-law. We are aware that in spite of the fact that practically all the Sulṭāns of the Deccan were closely related at one time or other this relationship did

Shāh Ṣāhīb's rebellion was only an interlude in the series of rebellions on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom. The apparent defeat of Mukandrāj did not mean the pacification of the district. With the Quṭbshāhī army centred at Qāsimkōta the chiefs of the Rājahmundri locality thought that it was a good opportunity to join forces and rise against the royal authority. The first to revolt were the chiefs of Elluru, Nirdal and Baharjalli. The Sulṭān thereupon appointed 'Adil Khān Bangī, who was then commanding the royal forces at Konḍaviḍu, and the *sarnaubat* Changīz Khān to proceed against the rebels. A river, which had to be crossed, was in spate and it was very difficult for the army to go over to the other side, especially as the rebels were encamped in full force on the northern bank. On hearing of the predicament the king sent another army fully equipped with fire-arms, under 'Abdu'l-Karīm *ḥawāladār* to the scene. It was after days of effort that a way was found to cross the river mainly through the efforts of two Hindu officers Sābājī and Dharma Rāo. The enemy had erected a strong bastion between two large hills on the other side of the river, and when they had to retreat through the pressure of Ḥaidarābād army they retired behind this. But the prop proved to be too weak, and when the bastion was attacked in full force they had no alternative but to sue for peace.[87]

---

not come in the way of their political ambitions and their expansionist tendencies at the expense of their neighbours. *Q.S.* is categorical that Shāh Ṣāhib died twenty years before the rebellion, and unless there is some evidence equally categorical it is impossible to contradict the chronicle with any cogency.

For the early life of 'Abdu'l-Qādir see *Briggs,* III, 447. For Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani and his descendents who came and settled at Bidar during the reign of Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I, see Sherawani, *Bahmanis,* pp. 192 ff.

'Ali Barīd Shah II, king of Bidar, 1589-1610. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shah II, King of Bijapur, 1580-1620.

Pangal; a hill-fort in Nāgar-Karnul taluqa, Maḥbūbnagar district, A.P.; 16°15′ N., 78°8′ E.

[87] *Ellūrū; Briggs,* III, 472, calls this Ellora and says that, like the well-known caves in the Aurangabad district, now in the Bombay State, this Elluru, "which is near Chikakole" has also a number of caves.

Elluru; headquarters of a sub-division of Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh; 16°43′ N., 81°07′ E.

The river mentioned in the text must have been one of the many streams which fall into the Godavari in this locality.

It seems that the chief commander of the royal forces Amīnu'l-mulk, was a man of stern temperament. He was primarily a soldier, and as such was not prone to the habit of bending before his subordinates or opponents. It appears that at least some of the revolts against the Throne were caused by his straight-jackedness and his undiplomatic behaviour. When Mukandrāj rose in rebellion his brother Harīchand and his nephew Shankarraj were at the Sulṭān's court they actually joined Amīnu'l-Mulk against Mukandrāj, and in the fight which ensued Shankar was killed fighting for the Sulṭān. There was another Hindu officer, Rāwat Rāo, who was in command of a possé of the Sulṭān's troops and who had acted under Amīnu'l-mulk a number of times. But Amīnu'l-mulk offended him by his haughty behaviour.[83] He surreptitiously left his army camp and sent word to Harichand to join hands with him and drive out the Ḥaidarabad army from his patrimony at Qāsimkoṭa. The two managed to collect a formidable army of nearly ten thousand foot soldiers. But Rāwat Rao was killed in the first skirmish by an arrow shot at his chest and the opposition was thereby slackened to a certain extent. Harichand however, continued the fight, sought the help of another local chief Vaijnāth Deo, and persuaded Mukandarāj to invest the royal outpost at Jurjūra. Mukandrāj was on the point of capturing the place by escalade and assault when Changīz K͟hān arrived with a large reinforcement and turned the scales against the besiegers. But the enemy would not rest. Both Vaijnāth Deo and Harīchand marched against the main Quṭbshāhī army under Zainu'l-'Abidīn, but they were driven back. Vaijnāth now fled to the fort of Veraghaṭṭam while the Quṭbshāhi army betook itself to Narayanpur.[89]

But when Mukandrāj, who was besieging the fort of Muḥammad-Qulī-Quṭbshāhābād, heard of the successive defeats of the allies at the hands of the Sulṭān's forces he fled to his own capital at Jilmur "which was situated in the midst of jungle and moun-

---

88. *Q.S.*, 277.

89. *Q.S.*, 278, has Vasnadeo, while *Briggs*, III, 470, has Veij Nat Dew. It may be pointed out that Vaijnāth or Baijnāth are fairly common Hindu names in northern and central India, and this must have been the real name of the chief.

Viraghaṭṭam; in the Palkonda taluqa, Viskhapatnam district, A.P., 18°8'N, 82°18'E.

tains". When this news was brought to the royal army, Changīz Khān, 'Abdu'l Karīm Khān, Dharma Rao and Bhale Rao proceeded to Jilmūr and engaged the enemy. The fighting, which must have been of a guerilla type, went on for a couple of months. Mukand now sent urgent messages to Vaijnāth to come to his help otherwise all would be lost. Vaijnāth now sent a strong army consisting of two thousand horse, thirty thousand foot soldiers and a hundred elephants under the command of his nephew. But it was most difficult to pass through thick jungle and mountainous paths with such a large army. It seems that although the royal army got the upper hand in certain preliminary engagements they were followed by protracted guerilla fighting which went on for many weeks. At last "the whole country was now surrounded", and although the rebels "fought with the greatest bravery" they were at last defeated. Harīchand now saw no purpose in opposing the royal forces any more and sent a message to Dharma Rāo of the royal army with proposals for peace. The army must also have been tired of months of fighting and was at the same time operating in a difficult terrain, so that a proposal like this was not at all unwelcome to the commanders. It was agreed that Harīchand should be allowed to keep his patrimony as the vassal of the King and should sent a tribute of thirty thousand 'hons' and fifty elephants every year to Ḥaidarābād.[90]

In spite of this fighting continued as Mukandrāj Bahubulendra was adamant and did not wish to lay down his arms. He was firmly seated both at Jilmūr and Elūrū and felt his position more secure than Harīchand. Zainu'l-'Abidin now detailed Changīz Khān to go and unseat him from his lair. When the two armies joined battle both were balanced in the beginning and fighting went on for two days, at the end of which the Quṭbshāhī army was victorious and Mukand had to fly to Bengal. But even that was not the end of the struggle. For Krishna Rāo, son of Rāwat Rāo rose in rebellion and a seizing Madwārā and Poṭnūr, wrote to Mukand to return and reclaim his partimony. It redounds to the continued toleration of the Sulṭān that among the officers who were sent to oppose the pretentions of these rebels we find the names of two Hindus, namely Dharma Rāo and Asva Rāo (Asir

---

[90] Q.S., 280-81. The name of Rāwat Rao's son is "Kishtam Rao" in Q.S., and this must have been a corruption of Krishna Rao.

Rāo). The royal troops forced Mukand, who had returned and was commanding his troops, to shut himself up at Madwara, but as the fort was surrounded by a thick jungle and it was difficult to make much headway, Dharma Rāo suggested to the Chief Commander Zainu'l-'Abidīn that Mukand might be allowed to retain his patrimony as the vassal of the Sulṭān, much in same way as Harīchand was allowed a short time previously. But this move on the part of Mukandrāj was probably a part of a ruse, and when Muḥammad-Qulī sent another commander, Ḥasan Khān to take charge of the operations, the first thing which the new commander did was to construct two new forts which he named Musṭafānagar, and Muḥammadābād as a line of defence.

The doubt on the part of the new Quṭbshāhī commander proved to be correct, and Mukand assumed the offensive. He first of all sent Krishna Rao against Muḥammadābād but he was killed in the fighting. Another attack was made against Musṭafānagar but that was also unsuccessful. These successes made Ḥasan Khān bold enough to attack Madwārā and he forced Mukandrāj to fly again to Bengal never to return. This time also the Sulṭān put his complete faith in a Hindu, Sūrya Rāo and made him his chief representative accredited to the province of Qāsimkōta and commissioned him to partition up the newly acquired gains among the jagirdars of the Kingdom.[91]

Muḥammad-Qulī's Last Days

It was after this campaign that the king sought the advice of "the nobles and high officers of government" as to whom he should appoint Mīr Jumla. After seeking their advice he appointed Muḥammad Amīn "who was the most eminent in the integrity of his opinions among his peers". It is related that under the new minister the affairs of state "which had wavered like an aigrette affixed to the head of a beautiful maiden" became fixed and firm. He proved to be an asset to the kingdom as the counterpart of the ease-loving and none too circumspect a Sulṭān.

The year 1012/1603 is also important in the history of the foreign relations of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty, for in that year Shah 'Abbās the Great, the Ṣafawī king of Persia, sent Prince Aghuzlu as his envoy to Ḥaidarābād.[92] When news arrived that he would disembark at the Portuguese port of Goa the Sulṭān sent Mīr Ẓiyāu'd-dīn Muḥammad Nīshāpurī to receive him there with all the honour due to the envoy of a great ally. The Prince was escorted from the border of the kingdom to the capital by a number of the nobles deputed by the Sulṭān. On arrival at the capital he was received in audience by the king, and he delivered to him an autograph letter from his master the Shah along with most valuable presents including a royal crown studded with rubies. It appears that the envoy was accompanied by no less than a hundred high ranking officials to each of whom His Majesty conferred royal robes of great value.[93]

---

[91] Q.S., 285.

It is related that the main object of the mission was the message sent by Shah 'Abbās to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh for the marriage of "one of his sons" with the Sulṭān's daughter Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam. The envoy was at the capital for six long years and was allowed to leave only in 1018/1609 for Iran. The Sulṭān ordered Mahdī-Qulī Sulṭān, (whose name shows that he was the scion of the Quṭbshāhi dynasty himself) to accompany the Iranian envoy with rich presents for the Shah. But in spite of Aghuzlū Sulṭān's long stay at the Quṭbshāhī capital he was not successful in his mission, for it was in 1016/1607, while he was still there, that the princess was married to her cousin Sulṭān Muhammad who eventually succeeded Muḥammad-Qulī as Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.[94]

---

[92] Abbās I, surnamed the Great, the most powerful king of the Safawī dynasty of Iran, 1586-1628. He was a great protagonist of Shī'ism, and he waged frequent wars with the Turks, with the result that he had to make friends with European powers who were the sworn enemies of the Turkish Sulṭāns. He conquered Tabrīz, Erivan, Georgia, Kurdistan and Mousil, ousted the Turks from Diārbekir and Baghdād, and occupied the towns sacred to the Shi'ah namely Najaf, Kaẓimain and Sāmarrah. In the east he was able to occupy Qandhār which had been in the Emperor Jahāngīr's possession. He made Isfahān his capital and from there he governed the country with a strong hand. He had close relations with the English East India Company, and opened the post of Gambroon, henceforward called Bandar-i 'Abbās, to European traders. He was a great disciplinarian, and had no scruples to behead able-bodied prisoners whom he captured in his numerous wars.

[93] *Q.S.*, 386.

[94] *Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, 1612-1626. It shows the superficiality of Ferishta's narrative regarding the Quṭbshāhī dynasty when he says at the

As has been mentioned elsewhere, one of the great figures of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was the Peshwa of the kingdom, Mīr Mu'min Astrabādi, who has left a lasting mark on the culture of Ḥaidarabād. He seems to have arrived at Golkonda, which was then the capital of Tilangana, from Iran soon after the accession of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah to the throne, and was probably appointed Peshwa of the Kingdom as early as 993/1585.[95] He was a great architect, a lover of culture and a poet and critic of some eminence. He died some time in 1034 or 1035/1624-26. There is a controversy regarding the date of his birth, and the fact that there is no epitaph on the grave reputed

---

end of his "History of Tilang", II, 174, that the princess was betrothed to the Iranian prince and was soon to be sent to Iran as his bride. This is, of course, all a product of the fertile imagination of the chronicler. Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam virtually ruled the kingdom during the reign of her husband, Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, and even after his death continued to take an active part in the affairs of the kingdom off and on. She died at Ḥaidarābād on 18-8-1077/14-2-1667 at the advanced age of 75 years, five years before the death of her son Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, and was buried in the magnificent tomb within the Quṭbshāhī necropolis. Here it might be mentioned that the story of her supposed marriage with the Iranian prince alluded to by Ferishta has not been translated by *Briggs*, III, 35.

[95] Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min's biography has been compiled by Dr. Zor in Urdu in an exhaustive manner, and there the learned author has discussed the problems relating to the early life of the wazir. We are not aware of the exact date on which he was born, but it is surmised that the date of his birth was some time about 960/1553 at Astrābād in Iran. He was a precocious youth and was already known for his erudition even when he was in his teens. He was a devout Shī'ah, and it was probably the fame of Shī'ism as the state religion of Tilangana which dragged him to Golkonda; *Ḥada'iqu's-Salāṭīn*, 187; *Tārīkh 'Alam Ārā'i 'Abbāsi*, 159. There is a controversy whether he reached the capital of Tilangana during the reign of Ibrāhīm or after the accession of Muḥammad-Qulī, and this matter has been discussed fully by Dr. Zor, who comes to the conclusion that the Mīr reached Golkonda immediately after Muḥammad-Qulī's accession; *Ḥayāt*, p. 25. It may be remarked that here again Ferishta shows his ignorance of the history of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty and puts forward the date of the accession of Muḥammad-Qulī to 989/1581 as against the exact date, 21-4-988/5-6-1580 as mentioned by the *Q.S.* It was without doubt the Mīr who put into practical form the whole conception of the new capital, Ḥaidarābād, and also that it was his devoutness as a Shī'ah Muslim which led to the construction of the Bādshāhī 'Ashurkhāna immediately after the completion of the pivotal structure of the new city, the Chār Minār. For the 'Āshurkhānā see Sherwani, *Foundation of Ḥaidarābād*, J. Pak. Hist: Soc., October, 1958, at pp. 241-242.

to be his (or for that matter on any of the sixteen graves within the mortuary chamber) is by no means condusive to the clarification of the problem. But what is certain that he died at a great age and remained the chief minister of the state right up to his death.

The perennial rift between the two sections of the Muslim nobility of the state, the dakhnīs and the āfāqīs, raised its head again towards the end of Muḥammad-Qulī's reign. And this was aggravated by the presence of the Mughals at the gate of the kingdom. It appears that some Mughals from Agra and Lahore went up the Nabāt Ghāt overlooking the Ḥusain Sagar lake and forced their way into the royal pavilion which stood on the top of the hill. This impudence on their part was immediately reported to the king and he ordered the kōtwāl, 'Ali Āqā, to turn the trespassers out of the grounds and warn them that they should not do so again in any circumstances. 'Alī Āqā informed the Sultān that the trespassers were really a part of the Mughal population, which had surreptitiously infiltrated into Ḥaidarabād and were a dangerous element of the population of the capital. The response of the Sulṭān was immediate, and he ordered that not merely the Mughals but also the Pathāns and the Arabs who were not in government service should be expelled. The Kōtwāl, who evidently did not belong to any of these categories, roped them all in, and it was bruited that they were to be put to death. This led to wild disorders in the city and to looting of warehouse and property of the Mughals who had settled down there. The Mīr Jumla happened to be transacting some business in one of the offices attached to the royal palace when he heard of the disorders. He immediately went to the king's bedroom where the Sulṭān was fast asleep and informed him how serious the situation had become. The Sulṭān now ordered to make short work of the rioters. 'Ālī Āqā who had acted in such a precipitate manner against the innocent as well as the guilty, now laid a heavy hand on the perpetrators of the riots, and it was not till law and order had been reinstated that the king had any peace of mind.[96]

This led to another disquieting episode. Muḥammad-Qulī had a full brother named Muḥammad Khudābandah who, it is said, was well treated by him, and he on his part, reciprocated by being loyal to him. He was a fairly docile person and was not prone to revolt. But it appears that the dakhnī party, led by one Shāh Rājū, engineered a conspiracy with the object of eliminating the Shī'ah element of the city who were mainly of Persian extraction and had the strong support of the Palace, and to put K͟hudābandah on the throne. The Sulṭān, however, got the information in the nick of time, and imprisoned the conspirators including K͟hudābandah in the fort of Golkonda, where the prince died some time later, in 1020/1611.[97]

---

[96] *Q.S.*, 292-95.

As has already been noticed, the Mug͟hals were fast advancing into the Deccan, and had it not been for the strategy and fortitude of Malik 'Ambar they would have made short work of the remaining kingdoms of the Deccan. The arrival of prince Parvēz in the vicinity of Aḥmadnagar in 1018/1609 was a signal for the rebellious elements of the Quṭbshāhī dominions as well. Vaijnath Deo, who had been so signally defeated by the royal troops, rose again and surrounded the Quṭbshāhī army under the sar-lashkar, Ḥasan K͟hān, at Qāsimkōtā. The Sulṭān again put his confidence in Changīz K͟hān and Dharma Rao with a large army to go and fight the rebels. Vaijnāth Deo shut himself up in his fortress. He had grown old and could not keep his subordinates in the discipline that was demanded of them, while his own nephew Krishnaraj actually went over to the royal camp and was well received by Changīz K͟hān. In the meantime the gallant Vaijnath Deo died of old age. Dharma Rao felt that the situation was now well in hand, and he wrote to those who were in power after Vaijnath to lay down their arms otherwise Changīz would occupy the whole area by force and thousand of innocent lives would be lost. Vaijnath had left no son, and his nephew who was regarded as heir to the *gaddī* was already a royal protégé. A treaty was now entered into between the commander of the royal army and Krishnaraj that the latter would succeed Vaijnath Deo and would pay the Sulṭān an annual tribute and at the same time pay him a *peshkash* of three lakhs of 'hons' and three hundred elephants when he allows to take charge of the state. He was presented by the Sulṭān a full robe of honour and costly accessories, with silver *accoutrements* for his steed.

---

[97] *Ibid.*, 295.

But peace was not kept by Krishnarāj for long, and not only did he not fulfill his undertaking of the full quota of his tribute but actually rose in rebellion against the paramount power. It was however, not long before Changīz overpowered the rebellion; but Krishnaraj managed to keep his patrimony under his immediate control and paid homage to the Sulṭān.[98]

The success of the royal troops was not so pronounced in another field. In 1019/1610 the ruler of Bastar named Pratāp Shāh revolted against the central authority. It shows the spirit underlying the Quṭbshāhī state that the task of facing Pratāp was entrusted to Asva Rao who was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces with Syed Ḥaidar, Amjadu'l-mulk and other officers under him. In the battle which ensued it was Asva Rao who opposed Pratāp Rao in person and forced him to fly from the battlefield taking refuge in his fort of Jagdalpūr. Asva Rao now wrote to the Sulṭān for further help as it was necessary to dislodge Pratāp from his eerie. Muḥammad-Qulī now ordered Mir Jumla to go to Bastar with a large army. But in spite of his march to Bastar, which was wholly unopposed, he could not dislodge Pratap from the fortress as a sudden fall of rain damped both his gunpowder and his spirits and he could not get further help from the centre in time. He was therefore forced to retreat, and as the Godavari was in spate it was with some difficulty that he could reach the capital.

It was not long after this, on 17-11-1020/10-12-1611 that the Sulṭān breathed his last after a short illness of only a couple of days at the age of a little over forty-eight years and a reign of thirty-three lunar years. As he had no son he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sulṭān Muḥammad.[99]

Retrospect

There are some definite traits which are noticeable in Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's reign. He was born on 14-9-973/4-4-1566 and was thus barely forty-seven years old when he died. He lived a life of ease and luxury, and as his poems clearly demonstrate, it was by no means one of continence. It is probable, as one of his panegyrist says, that "his untimely death generally attributed to his life of ease and sensuality."[100] It is to his credit that he left the administrative problems of his kingdom in the hands of capable ministers like Rai Rao, Mīr Mu'min Astrābādi, Mirza Muḥammad Amīn, Asva Rao and others, with the result that in spite of his inherent weakness the Kingdom went on progressing both internally and externally. Unlike Charles II of England (with whom he had much in common so far as personal character is concerned) he rarely took an active part in politics. He was an artist by nature. Although the details of the lay out of the new capital must have been worked out by Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min, there is no doubt that the full credit for the plan must be given to the young king. It must have been his idea that advantage was taken of the construction of the Purāna Pul by his father and an outlet from the conjested atmosphere of Golkonda was found in the level ground on the banks of the Musi on the direct road from Golkonda to the most important seaport on the Golkonda Coast, Masulipatam.[101] Like any other artist he was a patron of literature, both prose and poetry, of music and dance as well as architecture, and had the distinction of being the author of the first *dīwān* in *Dakhni-Urdu.*

---

[98] *Ibid.*, 295-98.

[99] *Ibid.*, 300-302. Jagdalpur is not mentioned in *Q.S.*, but as there is no city of the name of Bastar, which is the name of a state, I have purposely used that name. *Jagdalpur.*

We have a number of miniature portraits of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. He died comparatively a young man and there is not much of a contrast between most of the portraits distributed in various museums. All his portraits, except perhaps one, are executed in the dakhni *qalam,* and as the dakhni *qalam* developed after the advent of the Mughals in the Deccan it may be surmised that Muḥammad-Quli's portraits, or most of them, are posthumous.[102] His picture in the two portrait groups, one in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris and the other in the Hyderabad State

[100] A. M. Siddiqi, *History of Golkonda*, p. 93.

[101] For the importance of Masulipatam or Macchlībandar as a Golkonda port see Shāh Manẓūr 'Alam, *Masulipatam-a Metropolitan Port in the Seventeenth Century*; Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, July, 1959, pp. 169 ff.

[102] *Dakhni Qalam*: "Miniatures in this style are identified by their small character both in the actual size and also in the treatment generally. Gold is frequently used, and in the richness of effect it is more splendid than the Delhi *kalm* to which it is closely allied"—Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, p. 76. Dr. H. Goetz is probably right when he says (*Notes on a collection of Historical Portraits from Golconda*, Indian Arts and Letters, Vol. X, No. 1, 1936, p. 19) that "all datable products of the (Deccan) school belong to the

Museum, which depict all the monarchs of Golkonda flanking their ancestor Sulṭān-Qulī *Baṛē Malik,* must naturally have been posthumously executed in the time of the last Quṭbshāhī ruler, Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, if not even later. Muḥammad-Qulī in both these groups is shown as a mere boy, perhaps in order to contrast his face with those of his father and grandfather. The Paris group was painted at the bidding of Manucci by the portrait painter Mīr Maḥmūd who was attached to the entourage of Shāh 'Ālam, son of the Emperor Aurangzēb. It is noticeable that in the group the artist has not dressed Muḥammad-Qulī in the Mughal costume in which Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm and Abu'l-Ḥasan are dressed but in the dakhni costume of the period with a long embroidered kerchief on his shoulders. The kerchief has borders of brocade but the texture is so fine that it shows both the *jāmā* and the tight gaudy *pāijāmā* through it. On the head is rather an undersized turban, much smaller than the usual Mughal turban with a broad, embroidered *sarpēch* keeping the folds in place. Round the waist is a golden belt, but only the jewel-studded buckle is in evidence.[103]

The group in the Hyderabad State Museum is remarkable in that it is the only group in which the founder of the dynasty is shown in his youth. It is a dakhani composition *par excellence* as there is a profusion of gold ornamentation and the throne of Sultān-Quli, his dress, the hems of the dress of all present, the borders the umbrellas and many other things are in gold. More-

---

time of Sultan Abul Hasan though the school originated in the time of Abdullah." In the portraits of this school "outlines are bold, strongly marked and colours bright and much use is made of gold, often rather crudely, and there is a tendency to exaggerate facial features." Goetz's final judgment seems to run counter to Percy Brown's. It is not clear how he came to the conclusion that facial features seem to have a tendency to be "exaggerated." Profusion of gold is no doubt marked, but at least so far as Golkonda is concerned it might have been symbolic of the affluence of the State.

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah's three portraits are housed in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, one facing right and two facing left. Both are conventional Dakhni miniatures with halos round the face and the usual thin muslin kerchief with flowery border covering the shoulders. The *dastār* is a small one just covering the head. One, however, depicts the monarch in his youth with a fresh look while in another a prematurely old man is depicted with an unshaven beard and drooping moustaches. These miniatures have been described by Dr. Goetz in his *Notes,* op.cit., as well as in his *Indian and Persian Panitings in the Rijksprentenkabnet, Rijksmuseum,* pp. 24 and 40.

[103] For this group see Sherwani, *Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk,* Part III, Journal of Indian History, August, 1956, notes 135 and 136.

over there is fine calligraphy right round the composition containing lines in Arabic and in Dakhni-Urdu. As the central figure is of a youthful Sulṭān-Qulī, the painter has managed to paint all other rulers of the dynasty as just young men, younger in appearance than the progenitor of the House. Muḥammad-Qulī, the last figure to the left of the group, is shown as a handsome youth, with a shaven chin and slightly long moustaches. Rather a remarkable thing about this composition is that there are no halos round the heads of any ruler and that the face of the last Quṭb Shāh, Abu'l-Ḥasan has been completely obliterated. This probably indicates that the group was conceived after the fall of Golkonda in 1687 or just before, and reminds one that the Mughals never recognised the rulers of Golkonda as kings but only as local chieftains.[104]

The solo portrait of Muhammad-Quli in the Hyderabad Museum stands on its own plane.[105] It is a miniature in the approved Mughal style, 7·5″ × 5·2″ in size with a plain buff border showing the king standing profilewise. It depicts the face of a sedate young man with very small moustaches and a semblance of growth on his cheeks and chin. His head is covered with a regulation Mughal *dastār,* vermillion in colour with a bejewelled *sarpēch* bordered with pearls and a black aigrette drooping at the back. The head is surrounded by the traditional halo. In the right hand is a flower while the left is gripping the hilt of a sword. A *kaṭār* or dagger with a square hilt is tucked into a *kamarband* with a *pallū* in brocade. A fine muslin kerchief of the finest texture with embroidered border is thrown over the shoulders in the approved Andhra fashion. The arms are bedecked with armlets inlaid with pearls and precious stones, while there are strings of pearls and precious stones adorning the neck. In spite of the dignity and beauty of the portrait very little use is made of gold ornamentation which is one of the peculiarities of the dakhnī *qalam*. The whole composition leaves a pleasant feeling in the mind of the onlooker and is certainly the best portrait of the monarch in existence.

---

[104] This group is reproduced in colour in the *Catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Hyderabad House, New Delhi* in April, 1952, published by the Government of Hyderabad. Here it may be mentioned that the halo was borrowed from the portraits of Christ and the Virgin Mary which began to be imported along with other European pictures into India in Jahāngīr's reign. These paintings began to exercise a marked influence in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The *jāmā* was generally made of transparent muslin, while the kerchief was peculiar to the dress of the people of the Deccan.

[105] This portrait, which is in the Hyderabad State Museum, is marked p. 2246. I am thankful to the Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, for having allowed me to publish it.

Ferishta has quite rightly prefaced his short description of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah by calling him "forgiving and gentle", and if we scan his reign we would find that these traits cost his kingdom a great deal. A classical example of the failure of the king as a leader of men will be found in the episode of the rebellion of 'Ali K̲h̲ān Lūr and his alliance with Venkaṭa II of Pēnukonda in 1593. As has been related, the Sulṭān's forces marched into the Rāya's territory and had almost a walk over right up to the gates of the capital. Pēnukoṇḍa was invested and it seemed that it would fall like a ripe apple. But Venkaṭa's superior diplomatic talent coupled with the "forgiveness" of the Sulṭān, who was commanding the troops in person, resulted in a humiliating retreat of the Tilangana army. The request of the Rāya for a three days' armistice to open pourparlers for a final treaty, his reorganization of the army during the precious interval, the immediate retreat of the Sulṭān's forces and the invasion of his dominions in turn, have been described above. Muḥammad-Qulī was less than thirty years old then, and a little firmness on his part and the alertness of his officers might have changed the history of South India at least for the time being.

Again, in continuation of the same campaign, when Ganḍikōta was in turn invested by Venkaṭa, Murtaḍā K̲h̲ān, the commander of the Sulṭān's forces, made a flanking attack on Cuddapah. The Sulṭān, who had now returned to Ḥaidarabād, thought that the army on the east was not particularly strong, so he sent another large army under the command of G̲h̲azanfar K̲h̲ān, *alias* Rustam K̲h̲ān for Murtaḍā K̲h̲ān's help. But it is strange that he perhaps forgot to indicate which of the two commanders would be the commander-in-chief of the joint army. The result was that there was a tussle between the two officers and the consequent rout of the Sulṭān's forces.

All this shows the lack of the quality of leadership in the Sulṭān. Pleasure-loving as he was, he was successful in all those undertakings which were initiated and followed up by his capable ministers; but whenever he had an opportunity of taking a personal decision the possibility was that his "gentleness", which bordered on vacillation and weakness, would turn the scales against him and the State.

There was one silver lining which was characteristic of the epoch, and that was a spirit of *camaradérie* which existed between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the population. A remarkable thing was that this was in spite of the perennial conflict between Tilangana on the one hand and Orissa and Vijayanagar on the other. The fact that 'Alī K͟hān Lūr sought the help of the "Hindu" kingdom of the south against the Sulṭān is an instance of the utter non-communalistic tendency of the period. But that provides only a negative instance. On the positive side the whole policy of Government seems to have been that of equality of opportunity for both the Hindus and the Muslims for practically all the high offices of the State. It is Rāi Rao, who was probably the chief actor in the enthronement of Muḥammad-Qulī on the throne, who was in command of the important fort of Koṇḍavīḍu when 'Alī K͟hān rose in rebellion. And when the royal army was forced to retreat from Pēnukoṇḍa it was Asva Rao who was left in control of the fort of Musalamiḍūgū which had lately been occupied by the Sulṭān's army. The great confidence which the Court reposed in the high Hindu officers of the Kingdom is again shown by the appointment of Dharma Rao along with Changīz K͟hān against Vaijanāth Deo. Further, the King went out of his way when he invested Vaijanāth's nephew, Krishna Rāj with robes of honour and issued a proclamation to the chieftains of the locality to accept him as their paramount chief. Lastly, when Pratāp Shah of Bastar state revolted against the authority of the Sulṭān it was the king's confident commander, Asva Rao who was sent to quell the rebellion.

Another aspect of the policy of the administration was directly connected with the incursion of the Mug͟hals into the Deccan. Muḥammad-Qulī's advisers fully realised the danger which threatened the remaining three states of the Deccan by the continued incursion of the Mug͟hals into Berar and Aḥmadnagar. It is well-known that there had been continued friction between Aḥmadnagar, Bijapur and Tilangana in the past, but now all the three states stood like one in the face of the invaders and forgot their quarrels. Bijapur and Haidarābād both realised that the fall of Aḥmadnagar would spell their own doom, and when Chand Bibi and later, 'Ambar appealed to Muḥammad-Qulī to consider the cause of Aḥmadnagar to be his own he fully responded to the appeal. On the other hand the marriage of the king's sister, Chānd Sulṭāna to Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh must have led the rulers of the two Kingdoms to bury their hatchets in face of the grave danger from the north. The contempt with which the emissaries of Delhi viewed the Shiʻah potentates of the Deccan, especially Muḥammad-Qulī, may be instanced in what a man of such catholic temperament as Faiḍī writes about him in one of the reports he sent to the Emperor Akbar from Aḥmadnagar. It must have been a reaction to such a treatment as well as the enormity of the situation which resulted in the immediate response of the Ḥaidarābād Court to the appeals from Aḥmadnagar.

It was only natural that the aesthetic aspect of the encourage of the Sulṭān reacted on the life of the people in general. Literature, especially poetry, was patronised by the Sulṭān, and in this respect little discrimnation was shown between Persian, Telugu and Dakhni-Urdu. It was perhaps due to the rather loose morals of the court which gave an impetus to the writing of uninhibited poetry as also to the vivid nature-studies which we find in the writings of the Sulṭān as well as others like Wajhī. The unreserved frankness of Muḥammad-Qulī in the description of his amours is strangely mellowed by his religiosity and his faith in the Shīʻah doctrine which is visible in practically all his compositions, whether religious or profane.

It may thus be said that the whole outlook of the State as centred in the person of the Sulṭān was purely non-communal, and if the epithet may be used without any intention of anachronism, it was also national. The dress people wore, the music and dance which was patronised, the spirit of comradeship which was visible in all sections of the population, the confidence which the Hindus and Muslims had in each other producing a sense of unity in the face of a common danger—all this must have been inspired by the spirit of toleration shown by the Court. A possible exception might be made in the case of a rancour between the sunnīs and the Shīʻah as found in some of the compositions of the Sulṭān, but, strangely, this spirit is not in evidence in his dealings with the sunnīs in adminstrative matters, as the whole life of Amīn K͟hān of Paṭancherū and of his family shows.[106]

---

[106] For Amīn Khan and the general life of a typical aristocrat of the period see Sherwani, *Culture and Administrative set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, July, 1957, at pp. 102-105.

APPENDIX I

Military Organization and Equipment under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh

The disintegration of the Bahmani Kingdom saw the "Balkanisation" of the Deccan leading to an utter lack of confidence between the succession states and to civil war which lasted almost as long as the life of these states, till they were finally absorbed in the Mug͟hal Empire. The great Battle of the Krishna fought in January 1565 may, however, be said to be a landmark in the whole military history of South India, and it would be proper for us to evaluate the organization and equipment of the military forces of the Sulṭānates in general and Tilangana in particular. The military organization of the Bahmanīs had essentially a feudal basis and the *ṭarafdār* or governor of each of the four provinces in which the Kingdom was originally divided, had almost complete control of the military forces stationed in his province. He was allotted a jāgīr for the purpose of defraying the expenses connected with these forces, and it was his look-out to recruit as many soldiers on a permanent or temporary basis and defray as much money out of the proceeds of the jāgīr as he liked for the upkeep of the local levies. This system naturally led to abuses in the army especially when there was a weak or lenient king on the throne. The great Bahmanī wazir, Maḥmūd Gāwān, saw that this would lead perhaps to the dissolution of the kingdom, and he set upon himself to reform the abuses at their very foundation. He saw that the *ṭarafdār* had full control over the profits of the military fief, and he could well keep the army under his command depleted in order to save the profits for his own person. Further, as the whole kingdom was divided into just four provinces there was little left for the King in the way of any direct military control.

Maḥmūd Gāwān attempted to do away with the very feudal face of the military system. He began by dividing the kingdom into eight instead of four provinces and divested the *ṭārafdār* of practically all military authority by ordering that only one fort should be left under his direct command while all the other forts came under the direct control of the Sulṭān who appointed *qil'ahdārs* over them. Then, in lieu of jāgīrs or military fiefs he

J. 15

allowed each commander only a lac or at the most a lac and a quarter of hons for every five hundred soldiers under him, and made him accountable for every *fuls* allotted to him. As we know, however, the Khwājā was murdered very soon after the promulgation of his civil and military reforms as a result of a conspiracy of the section of the nobles and jāgīrdārs opposed to him, and the reforms died with him.[1]

Another interesting attempt at the defeudalisation of the army, this time on a much smaller scale, was made fifteen years after the Khwāja's murder, in 901/1496, when the Bahmanī Prime Minister, Qāsim Barīd, issued a royal decree that the smaller *manṣabdārs* who received payments for providing soldiers, should get themselves enrolled in the royal bodyguard and to be known henceforward as *sarkardah* or "chiefs by appointment" or *ḥawāladār* or "men put in charge." But these reforms were attempted too late in the history of the Brahmanīs, for the Kingdom had already disintegrated into a number of autonomous principalities and the governors of different provinces had become virtual masters with their charges.[2]

One of these autonomous rulers who rose from the smouldering pile of the Bahmanī Kingdom was Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk. He was himself a warrior of great calibre and a commander of great renown, and he kept an eye on practically every detail of military administration. The result was that the feudal character of the army of Tilangāna almost entirely disappeared. We see him taking the lead on all fronts and bringing into force new techniques of warfare. His excellence as a strategist has already been commented upon and need not be repeated here; but one of the characteristics of his warfare may be remembered that he always kept a small possé of troops in reserve, and by throwing them into the fray when both sides were thoroughly exhausted, turned the scales in his favour. Battles after battles were won by resorting to this strategem.[3] His son and successor Jamshīd was essentially a man of iron, and it may truly be said that in his short reign the army finally passed from the control of feudal lords to the direct control of the King.[4]

---

[1] For Maḥmūd Gâwân's administrative and military reforms see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, pp. 146-150, *Bahmanis*, 324-25; His murder, *Maḥmūd Gāwān*, 169-72; *Bahmanis*, 333-35.

[2] *Bahmanis*, 396. We should remember that it was only twenty-nine years since Maḥmūd Gāwān's murder, and Qāsim Barīd was naturally careful not to attempt sweeping reforms in administration and thus endanger his own life.

By this time artillary had proved to be a most important part of military equipment, and we have the names of different kinds of firearms used in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in various fields. We have *tōp, Ḍarb-zaṅ, zambūrak* and other kinds of weapons, while large cannon were given distinctive names such as *Top Ibrāhīmshāhī* and the *Malik-i Maidāṅ*. Beginning in a small way in the reign of the Bahmani Muḥammad I in 767/1366, artillary had grown to be one of the most potent engines of warfare, and it was this military arm which was responsible for the allied victory at the great battle of January 23, 1565. Of course, lancers, swordsmen and even bowmen continued to play their part when it came to closer fighting, but it was gunshot which made breaches in the battlements and led to hand to hand fighting.[5] We have also the technique of protracted fighting of a pedatory nature lasting weeks and months, which led to the very organised guerilla warfare of the Maratha period.[6]

The line of battle continued to be as in the days of the later Bahmanīs. Each army was divided into three main sections, the right flank, the *qalb* or centre and the left flank, and it was the *qalb* or the "heart" of the line of battle which was commanded by the King or the chief commander as the case may be. We come across the term *Sipah-sālār* or Commander-in-Chief in one or two places,[7] but the term which is rather common is *Sarlashkar* or Commander, and he was generally appointed *ad hoc* to conduct a certain military campaign. The *Qil'ahdār* or the officer in charge of a Fort, was, of course the most important person in a beleaguered fortress and the chief officer to be reckoned with. He had, however, to depend mainly on the Hindu sardars called *Nāyakwāṛīs* and the more disciplined and drilled contingent called *K͟haṣa K͟hēl* or *Silaḥdārs,* as well as the general body of citizens who were always liable to turn round and play havoc with authority, as when they rebelled against the infant Burhān after Jamshīd's death, and virtually voted for Prince Ibrāhīm who was already in the country on the invitation of the citizens of Kōvilkonda.[8] There are also other minor military officers such as the *Sarnaubat* or the Chief of Military Music and the Officer commanding the artillery, who was almost invariably a Turk such as Chelepī Rūmī K͟hān at the Battle of the Krishna. In the case of actual fighting there were two instead of one *Sarnaubats* namely the Sarnaubat of the Right and the Sarnaubat of the Left. Both of them were officers of some responsibility and eminence, for we find some raised to sarlashkarship and at least one to the high office of Commander-in-Chief, while others are known to have been sent on high diplomatic mission.[9]

---

[3] For Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk as a military commander see Sherwani, *Quṭbu'l-mulk's military Campaigns*, J.I.H., April, 1956, pp. 1, ff, and J.I.H., August, 1956, pp. 199-200.

[4] For a survey of Jamshīd's reign in general see Sherwani, *Medieval State of Tilangana: a Period of Uncertainty*, J.I.H., April, 1957.

[5] Artillery in the reign of Muḥmmad I, *Bahmanis*, 81. *Tōp Ibrāhīmshāhī* in action at Rājahmundrī; *Bur.*, 193. Various kinds of cannon; *Fer.*, II, 128. The *Malik-i Maidān* was originally cast at Aḥmadnagar in bell-metal which takes a very high polish. It is 14 feet long with a circumference of 13′ 6″, while the diameter of the bore is 2′ 4″. It now stands majestically on Sharzā Burj at Bijapur.

[6] We have several instances of guerilla warfare during the Quṭbshāhī period, such as the month long battle after the capture of Deglūr by Ibrāhīm's forces about 986/1578. For this see Briggs, III, 434. There are many other instances of such warfare.

Here it would be interesting to trace the development of military uniforms from the later Bahmani period to the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Probably the first description of the military uniforms worn by an army in the Deccan if from the pen of the portuguese traveller Durate Barbosa who was in the Deccan sometime between 1500 and 1517. He says:

> "The Moorish (Muslim) noblemen in general take with them tents with which they form encampment on halting ground....They ride on high pommelled sâddles and make much use of sojares (whips) and fight tied to them (saddles) with long light lances which have a head a cubit long....They

---

[7] Such as the appointment of Malik Bihzād Turk as Sipah-sālār by Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh, for which see *Bur.*, 510.

[8] For this phenomenon see *A Period of Uncertainty*, *op. cit.*

[9] Such as the mission of Sarnaubat Qubul Khan along with other high officers and a large army to Rāmarāj against his rebellious brothers Khēmrāj and Gōvindrāj; *Q.S.*, 145.

wear short coats padded with cotton, and many of them kilts of mail, while their horses are well caparisoned with head plates. They carry maces and battle axes and two swords, two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two... They employ pack bullocks on which they carry their baggage."[10]

Fortunately we have a unique manuscript entitled *Kitab Ta'rīf Hasan Shāh Bādshāh Dakan* or *Book of Praise of Hasan* (*sic*) *King of Deccan* in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdaka Mandala of Poona, (Persian, No. 126), illustrating the progress of the Allied Sulṭāns towards the Krishna and the Battle miscalled the Battle of Talikota. This short manuscript of 98 pages is written in beautiful nasta'līq and is illustrated with 14 coloured miniatures. The miniatures are in *dakhnī qalam* but there is no doubt that the book was prepared for Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and belonged to the royal library at Aḥmadnagar, and as a seal describes, it later formed part of the Imperial Library at Delhi.[11]

In picture 6 Ḥusain is shown riding a charger with all the emblems of royalty such as the royal umbrella, the panel containing the emblem of the fish, and morchals or whisks of peacock feathers. He has a determined look and is preceded by an elephant carrying a triangular flag with illegible writing on it. The line below consists of representation of two buglers followed by uniformed foot-soldiers in long white tunics and belts of cotton texture and horsemen with coats coming up to their ankles, with small shoes on their feet. Footmen have the lower parts of their legs covered with protective stockings reaching their knees. It is noteworthy that every soldier, whether riding a horse or on foot wears a helmet with a peculiar small triangular flag stuck to its top. In picture 8 we are introduced to cavalry uniforms which are similar to those of the infantry. What is also noticeable here is that the allied horsemen are dressed in full coats of mail.

---

[10] See *Bahmanis*, 395, quoting *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Society, London; Introduction, p. lxiii.

[11] For the general description of the book see *Aravidu*, pp. xvi-xix. I am thankful to Mr. Kharē, the Curator of the Library and Museum of the Mandal for having given me the opportunity of a close study of the book. The pagination of the book, which is in Persian, follows the devanagari system, so that the number 98 appears on the front page of the manuscript and the number 1 on the last.

Pictures on pages 22 and 21, which really form two parts of a single scene, are the only ones in which Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and 'Alī.Adil Shāh appear together. This is the scene of Rāmaraj's decapitation and is supervised by Ḥusain himself sitting on a charger backed by a coloured umbrella and a whisk by his side. Opposite him is another king, probably Ibrāhīm, all in white, with a white umbrella protecting him from the sun. It is well worth noticing that while the flush of victory has left a smile on everyone's face, that is not so with the second King, Ibrahim, who is standing viewing the scene of decapitation with a certain amount of agony and misery. The second part of the picture on the page, which is numbered 21, shows the third king on a charger, who is without doubt, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh. 'Ali was not present at the time of the decapitation, and his standing at a distance is perhaps symbolic of his absence from the scene.

The action shown in all the pictures in the brochure is one of hand to hand fighting and does not depict the famous episode of the firing of brass coins through the muzzle of the *Malik-i Maidān* which probably caused the actual death of Rāmarāj. But it must be remembered that the book deals primarily with the part played by Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh in person, and this lacuna does not vitiate the otherwise correct pictorial description of the battle.

There is an understandable contrast between the uniforms of the allied armies and those of the Vijayanagar forces. While the head dress of the allied armies is a short beflagged helmet that of the Vijayanagar forces is a long *kulāh*.[12] In the same manner, while the main equipage of the allied army is the steed, it is the elephant which is most prominent in the Vijayanagar forces. The legs of the northern soldiers are covered with protective stockings, while the legs of the Rāmarāj's soldiers are bare and the lower part of the body is covered with a fairly elongated loin cloth. Duarte Barbosa's description of Vijayanagar forces is more or less similar to this, with the important difference that the turbans of the early sixteenth century have now given place to the kulāhs of the middle of the century.

---

[12] For the use of the Persian *kylāh* at Vijayanagar, see Sherwani, *Culture and Administrative Set-up;* Islamic Culture, *op. cit.,* p. 126.

A pen-picture of the Vijayanagar army in peace time has been delineated by another Portuguese traveller Domingo Paes who visited the capital fortyfive years earlier, i.e., about 1520. He was present at the review of the forces by the Rāya, and it seems that the splendour of the uniforms of officers, the Imperial marqués and the rest of the equipage left the European speechless and breathless. He says that the royal tent was made of Mecca velvet of myriad colour, the horses had headplates made of silver but most of them were enclosed in fringes of twisted silk, while the reins were also covered with silk of various hues. The trappings of the horses were made of satin and damask imported from China and Persia. Horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics made of brocade and silks while they had overall leather coats with iron plates and helmets with head pieces. The dresses of foot-soldiers were also resplendent and their shields had effigies of serpents and flowers of gold worked on them. He says that at the end of the cavalcade came musketeers with their muskets and blunderbusses, and then the contingent of Muslims with their shields, javelins, spears and fire arms.[13]

All this splendour was, however, of no avail when it came to fighting on the battle-field. We must remember that the army of Vijayanagar was at best a feudal array and the forces which Rāmarāj collected in December 1564 were mobilised through the agency mostly of feudal lords of the south and from governors of outlying provinces. When the strong hand of Rāmarāj was removed there was no one left to control this vast heterogeneous array and the whole military structure suddenly fell down. On the other side it was with the single object of crushing Rāmarāj's might that the four Sulṭāns had formed a league against him, and with his fall old antagonisms and enmities revived and internecine feuds reappeared.

---

[13] Narrative of Domingo Paes, *Sewell*, 275-77.

APPENDIX II

Inter-statal Usage and Rules of Conduct in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh

Although we are concerned primarily with the Bahmanī succession states, mainly Tilangāna, it is best to trace the formulation of interstatal usage from the time of the Bahmanīs, in particular from the time of Maḥmūd Gāwān's ministry. It is not that some rules of interstatal conduct did not exist earlier than Maḥmūd, but what materials we have regarding the early Bahmanī period consists of just desultory *ad hoc* rules. We should also remember that the Bahmanī flag soon flew over the whole of the table-land of the Deccan, and whatever foreign relations were possible were with Vijayanagar, Orissa, Malwa and possibly with Gujarāt, the first three of which were nearly always at loggerheads with the Deccan. The diplomatic talent and foresight of Maḥmūd Gāwān saved the Deccan from the onslaught firstly of Vijayanagar and then of Malwa, and perhaps in order to encircle that mortal foe of the Deccan, Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mānḍu, he established treaty relations with Gujarat and even with far off Jaunpūr. There is a mass of diplomatic and other correspondence initiated by Maḥmūd Gāwān in the collection of his letters called *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā* or "the Gardens of Diction". The collection contains as many as 148 letters written by Maḥmūd Gāwān himself or on behalf of the Bahmanī Sulṭān, Maḥammad III, as well as a few epistles from foreign rulers in reply. Of these, perhaps the most important for our present purpose are the letters regarding the Malwese War of 1462, especially those written to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarat, Ḥusain Shāh the Sharqī Sulṭān of Jaunpūr, and Maḥmūd K͟hiljī of Malwa and his ministers. From these letters may be gleaned the rules in existence regarding negotiations with the allies of the Deccan, negotiations for the finalisation of treaties of peace, exchange of envoys generally and for special purposes and the stages through which a major war came to an end.[1]

• • •

[1] *Riyaḍu'l Inshā*, edited by Shaik͟h Chānd b. Ḥusain, Persian Publication Society, Hyderabad Deccan, 1948. See also Sherwani, *Deccani Diplomacy and Diplomatic Usage in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century*, J.I.H., 1937, pp. 27 ff.; Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmani Wazīr*, ch. 5 and

It is plain from these letters that there were no permanent ambassadors accredited to any of the states with which the Deccan had any relations, although there was a continuous streams of envoys sent by one ruler to another for specific purposes. We may liken this to a state of affairs if, at the present day, there were no permanent ambassadors but all necessary diplomatic correspondence were to be carried on by means of special envoys of note and responsibility. The main reason for the lack of permanent ambassadors seems to be the great distances which separated the capital of one state from another and the difficulty of sending plenipotentiary ministers who should be authorised to decide upon matters which might arise, without reference to the ruler himself. When each matter had to be referred to the centre there appeared no necessity to accredit permanent envoys.

There are two remarkable letters written by Maḥmūd Gāwān which illustrate the ideal of what may be called clean diplomacy which the minister had in view. Both of them are addressed to Shaikh Dāwūd el-Mānḍawī, the *rasūl* of envoy of Maḥmūd Khilji. Both seem to have been written at the close of what was a kind of life and death struggle of Bahmanī Deccan. Maḥmūd addresses the envoy from Malwa thus:

> "The sole method of bettering the relations between two rightly guided peoples is the need for the differentiation between internal and external purity. Internal purity demands the obliteration of all causes of discord, while by external purity is meant shunning of falsehood and deceit and putting an end to all mendacious behaviour and acts which might lead conflict. For this it is necessary that all state actions should be washed by the waters of sincerity and truth according to the best traditions of the great rulers of old...."

In another letter he says:

> "By external purity is meant the obliteration of all causes of internecine feuds, a halt to the showering of arrows, and sheathing of swords in their scabbards, while by internal purity is meant the final turning away from all manners of deceit and falsehood...."

App. 1; Sherwani, *Riyādu'l-Inshā as a Source-book of Deccan History*, Proc. of the Ind. Hist. Records Commission, 1940, pp. 170 ff.

As Shaikh Dāwūd was awowedly an envoy of the Sulṭān of Malwa sent to enter into pourparlers for peace and was already at the Bahmani capital, Muḥammadābād-Bīdar, it is possible that these observations were a kind of *aide mémoire* of what took place during pourparlers between the two parties. Both letters are fairly long and contain many other considerations besides these mentioned above. It is true that the ideal of diplomacy based on moral considerations was not always practised, and the standard set by Maḥmūd Gāwān in these *aides memoires* was the one left behind by the Bahmanī State for the future in very clear terms.[2]

This system of sending and receiving special envoys or *rasūls* for distinct purposes continued in Bahmanī succession states including Tilangana. We find that on Jamshīd's accession to the throne Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar sent the eminent theologian and diplomat Shāh Ṭāhir to congratulate him on the auspicious occasion. The same courtesy was followed on the occasion of Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne, for we are told that when the Deccan rulers heard of his accession they sent envoys with presents to Golkonda and felicitated the new Sulṭān. It is stated that Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh sent "one of his boon companies" with an indication that a like courtesy by way of reciprocity would be welcome. Ibrāhīm therefore sent his eminent minister Musṭafā Khān Ardistānī to Aḥmadnagar. In the same way Ibrāhīm sent Shāh Mīrzā Isfahānī as a special envoy to Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh in 982/1574 to congratulate him on the birth of Prince Ḥusain, who later ascended to throne as Mirān Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. This courtesy was sometimes extended to non-Muslim states like Vijayanagar, for we are told that when one of Rāmarāj's sons died, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, who had recently ascended the throne of Bijapur, himself went to Bijapur almost unattended in order to offer condolence in person.[3]

Musṭafā Khān was sent by Ibrāhīm on a number of very very important commissions. Thus when Tilangana was surrounded on all sides by the enemy of the Kingdom, and Rāmrāj had not only occupied a number of forts belonging to it but was persuading the Nāyakwāris of the kingdom to transfer their allegience to him, Ibrāhīm sent Musṭafā K͟hān to Jagadēva Rāo to use his good offices to arrange an interview with the Regent of Vijayanagar. Again when the Sulṭāns were greatly perturbed at the increase in the power and insolence of Rāmarāj and wanted to make common cause against him it was Musṭafā K͟hān who was sent to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh to arrange for a treaty between Tilangāna and Aḥmadnagar, and was requested by Ḥusain himself to accompany his own envoy Hakīn Qāsim Bēg to persuade 'Alī 'Adil Shāh to join hands against Vijayanagar.[4]

---

[2] Quotations from *Riyāḍ.*, No. 19, pp. 94-97 and No. 75 pp. 245-248. *Maḥmūd Khilji*, King of Malwa, 1436-1469. *Maḥmūd Begaṛa* Sulṭān of Gujarat, 1458-1511. *Muḥammad III*, the Bahmani Sulṭān, 1463-1482. *Ḥusain Shāh*, the Sharqī King of Jaunpūr, 1458-79. Murder of Maḥmūd Gāwān, 5-4-1481.

[3] *Q.S.*, 130. The term for envoy is *rasūl*, which literally means a messenger; pl., *rasūlān*. Ibrāhīm congratulate Murtaḍā, *Fer.*, II, 138. 'Alī 'Adil Shāh at Vijayanagar, *Briggs*, III, 118; *Aravidu*, 87.

This practice was more or less universal in the Deccan, for we find Ḥusain commissioning his *vakīl-i Muṭlaq* and Peshwa, Maulānā 'Ināyatu'l-lāh with an autograph teller to Ibrāhīm in which he recounted the havoc caused by Rāmarāj and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh in Aḥmadnagar territory after the capture of Kalyānī by the latter, and proposing that a conference of the two Sulṭāns be held in the near future. Ibrāhīm reciprocated by sending an autographic letter to his brother monarch agreeing to the proposal.[5]

But the leaders of these missions were not always honest in their dealings with the officers of the courts to which they had been accredited. Thus when Ibrāhīm sent Shāh Mīrza Isfahānī to Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh to congratulate him on the birth of Prince Ḥusain and on reaching there he found that Murtaḍā had the invasion of Berar in his mind, he actually offered a bribe of two lacs of hons to the Peshwā Changīz K͟hān to restrain Murtadā from doing so. Changīz retorted that what the King wanted was only that there should exist no barrier intervening between the kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Tilangāna in order that the ancient traditions of friendship between the two should be further cemented. Shāh Mīrzā now approached Murtaḍā's notorious favourite Ṣāhib K͟hān who dinned into the King's ears that Changīz was after the throne of Berar for his own person and managed to have him executed by royal orders. When the King knew of what Shāh Mīrzā had attempted to do he ordered him to quit his capital as a *persona non grata.*[6]

---

[4] Mission to Jagadēva Rao, *Fer.*, II, 133. Mission to Aḥmadnagar and Bijapur, *Q.S.*, 175. Conference at Kalyānī, *ibid.*, 187.

[5] Autograph letters exchanged between Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh; *Q.S.*, 157.

A definite departure in the process of accrediting envoys to foreign courts is visible about this time. As has been related above it was the tradition in the Deccan that *rāsuls* or envoys were commissioned *ad hoc* for special purposes, and when that purpose was achieved the mission came to an end. It seems that now a practice was taking its roots that permanent envoys, called *Ḥājib-i Muqīm* began to be sent by one state to another. The first time that we hear of these *ḥājibs* is after the agreement entered into at Kālā Chabūtrā between Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh and ʻAlī ʻAdil Shāh in which they made up their quarrels and decided on an attempt to put an end to the userper Tufāl K͟hān and at the same time to eliminate Vijayanagar and Tilangāna. We are told that Murtaḍā appointed K͟hwaja Ḍiyāu'd-dīn Samnānī, surnamed Amīn K͟hān to be his *ḥājib-i muqīm* or attaché with the Bijapur army, while ʻAlī appointed K͟hwājā G͟hiyāt͟hu'd-dīn Samnānī as his *hajib-i muqīm* with the army of Aḥmadnagar. They were primarily military attaches with a friendly army, but it appears that they were retained at the courts to which they were accredited even in peace time.

The *ḥājibs,* however, did not enjoy much of a diplomatic immunity. K͟hwājā G͟hiyāt͟hu'd-dīn was succeeded as ʻAlī's ḥājib to the Aḥmadnagar court by I ʻtibār K͟hān, who reported to the Sulṭān of Bijapur that Amīn K͟hān, who represented Aḥmadnagar at the Bijapur court, was conspiring against the interests of the Sulṭān. ʻAli ʻAdil Shāh thereupin ordered that Amīn K͟hān should be beheaded. But this was evidently an exceptional case, and we rarely come across such acts by a Sulṭān against the representative of another in peace time.[7]

Apart from these ḥājibs the five Sulṭāns of the Deccan kept permanent ambassadors, called *Vakīls* at the Vijayanagar court, and generally speaking, they enjoyed a large measure of respect. But time came when the power and inordinate haughtiness of Rāmarāj reacted on the treatment meted out to these *vakils* at his hands, and instead of the kindness and favour with which they had been treated and the obvious sincerity which was shown to them at his court, he now became insolent and insulting to them, and "against all traditional behaviour" he even began to tarry long before he offered them a seat in his presence. This led to much ill-will among the Sulṭāns and finally to the shattering of the power of the southern Empire.[8]

---

[6] Bribe offered, *Fer.,* II, 138; "persona non grata; *ibid.*

[7] *Ḥājib-i Muqīm; Bur.,* 461, 474.

It may thus be said that there were three grades of diplomatic representatives in the Deccan of the sixteenth century: (1) *Ad hoc* envoys generally called *rasūls,* who were sent to offer congratulations or condolences, attend a high level conference, enter into pourparlers or arrange a treaty (2) The *ḥājib-i Muqīm,* literally "Resident Chamberlain" or attaché; these were originally assigned to the army of friendly power but tended to become a permanent institution. (3) *Vakīls* or permanent Ambassadors accredited to certain foreign powers.

So much for the rules which were generally followed in time of peace. In the case of war also we have certain traditions, mostly initiated by the founder of the dynasty, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk. One of the most important of these traditions was the rule that before military action was launched it was necessary that an ultimatum was sent to the possible opponent. Thus when the rebel Qiwāmu'l-mulk sought political asylum in Berar, Sulṭān-Qulī first asked Duryā 'Imād Shāh to expel him from his territory. It was only when Daryā transgressed inter-statal rules and began to scold the Tilangana envoy that Quṭbu'l-mulk began his advance northwards. In the same way, when Raja Harichand, the jāgīrdār of Nalgonḍā, revolted, Sulṭān-Qulī first sent a message to the Raja to agree to pay a small tribute for the lands that he held, and it was only when all hope of an understanding was lost that he ordered that the citadel of Nalgonḍā be invested. Another principle on which he acted was that when an enemy laid down his arms he was magnanimous enough to overlook his faults and pardoned him. Thus when the rebel commander of the Konḍavīḍu fortress laid down his arms and petitioned that he might be forgiven, he was forthwith pardoned and even allowed to retain the fort in his possession.[9]

---

[8] *Vakils* or Ambassadors at the Court of Vijayanagar; *Basatin,* 90.

[9] For these and other instances, see Sherwani, *Quṭbu'l-mulk's Military Campaigns,* J.I.H., April, 1956, pp. 1 ff.

These principles were followed by most of the Sulṭāns of the Bahmanī succession states. Thus in 1562 Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh sent an ultimatum to Tufāl K͟hān to release Burhān 'Imād Shāh before he launched an attack. In the same way, after it had been decided to join hands against Ramaraj, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh sent an ultimatum to him to restore Rāichūr and Mudgal to Bijapur.[10] This practice, however, was not universal, and many of the wars of the period started without an ultimatum. Once war started, no quarters needed be shown to the enemy. Thus we find that when Rāmaraj invaded Aḥmadnagar in alliance with 'Alī 'Adil Shāh in 1559 he is said to have desecrated mosques, laid waste the countryside and done everything not merely to shatter the strength of the enemy but his long range potential as well. On the other hand there are many cases when the life and property of the common man was not touched by an invader and the fullest consideration was shown to the inhabitants of the enemy country. Thus when Murtaḍā led an invasion into Berar he refrained from wanton cruelty to the people. We are told on high authority that when the Ahmadnagar army reached Pātrī, Changīz K͟hān produced a royal *qaulnāma* or decree which promised the fullest protection to the people of Pātrī and undertook that they would not be molested during the march of the enemy through their territory.[107] Moreover when the enemy showed an inclination towards peace everything was done to bring war to a close. Thus we see that Aīnu'l-mulk, commander of the Tilangana forces which were helping the Niẓāmshāhī army before Bijapur, was granted safe conduct through 'Adilshāhī lines. Similarly, when Rājahmundrī was besieged by Malik Nā'ib under orders from Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh the defenders of the citadel sent an emissary to Mullā K͟hiyālī requesting him that he might authorise Yālu Panḍit of the Quṭbshāhī army to enter into pourparlers with the besieging garrison. The negotiations resulted, among other things, in the grant of safe conduct for that arch enemy of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty, Shitāb K͟hān and his family, whom he was able to conduct with him to Vijayanagar territory.[11]

---

[10] Ultimatum to Burhān 'Imād Ehāh; *Fer.*, II, 135; to Rāmarāj, *Basatin*, 94.

[11] Depredations in the Niẓāmshāhī Kingdom, *N. & V.*, I, 255; *Briggs*, III, 120. See also Sherwani, *Diplomacy and Military Campaigns, 1550-1565*, J.I.H., August, 1957. It seems that today we are going back to the ancient, pre-historical jungle warfare, for even Hiroshima and Nagasaki are fading

But this method of granting safe conduct to an enemy was sometimes abused. Thus when the four Sulṭāns entered into an agreement against Rāmarāj he made up his mind to try a subterfuge through which he hoped to win over at least one member of the League and thus break up the coalition. For this purpose he sent costly presents to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and appealed to the previous good relations between Vijayanagar and Bijapur. In the same way, when Aḥmadnagar had been invested by 'Ali and Ibrāhīm the Dowager Queen of Aḥmadnagar surreptitiously appealed to Ibrāhīm to save her and the garrison from starvation. Open bribes were also offered and accepted. Thus when 'Alī 'Adil Shāh invaded Vijayanagar territory with the help of Ḥaṇḍe Timmā Nāyaka in 1576 Sri Ranga Raya actually offered a large bribe to Timmā "and rendered him not only to desert 'Adil Shah but to harass his camp".[12]

It would thus be seen that while there were perhaps no universal rules to control the relations of the Deccan States *inter se* there were certain definite principles which were generally followed. These rules may be briefly stated thus:

1. Ultimatums were generally sent to a possible opponent that he should be amenable to reason, otherwise force would be applied.

2. In case of war, the rule was that a minimum pressure should be applied and the general life of the common people should not be disturbed; but there were also conflicts when this standard was not needed and much wanton destruction was affected.

3. When the enemy wanted to lay down his arms he was treated with much consideration, and if he wanted to leave he was granted safe conduct, while if he wished to remain he was allowed to keep his patrimony under the protection of the Sulṭān.

4. Pourparlers between the belligerents or high level peace conferences leading to peace treaties were the general rule, and barring certain exceptions (as when Raja Harīchand laid a plot to kill Ibrāhīm when he entered Nalgonda on his own invitation), the representatives of the two parties enjoyed perfect immunity.

---

into oblivion with the H-Bombs which are looming in the horizon. *Qaulnāma*, *Bur.*, 562.

[12] Safe conduct at Bijapur, *Bur.*, 522; at Rājahmundrī, *Q.S.*, 153, This was sometimes called *Qual*, or Promise of protection; *Q.S.*, 226.

The First Siege of Cochin by the Dutch and Its Sequel

(as depicted by Miss M. Antoinette P. Roelofsz, now Mrs. Meilink, in *De Vestiging Der Nederlanders Ter Kuste Malabar*)

BY

T. I. Poonen, M.A., Ph.D.

After the capture of Cranganore, the Dutch immediately made themselves ready to attack Cochin. Therefore they brought again on board most of the artillery and all further necessary utensils. In Cranganore there remained behind only the sick and wounded soldiers about 200 in number.

Van Goens marched with the rest of his troops across the big Cranganore river and set foot on the island of Vypeen situated between the Cranganore and Cochin rivers. The inhabitants showed themselves well disposd towards the troops. The fleet now sailed for Cochin from the sea-side. Van Goens mustered his troops in Vypeen. He had but barely 1800 men at his disposal. To these 1800 men could at the utmost be added some hundred sailors as a vigilant eye had to be kept there continually on the ships from the north and they had also at the same time to occupy the rivers of Cochin and Cranganore. Also the ships' crew were attacked by sickness and the bargemen made themselves uneasy at the thought of a possible meeting of the enemy involving going to battle with this sick folk. No favourable news came from Goa. It was therefore impossible to undertake anything against the enemy with naval forces. Even from the ships *Vleeland, Elburg* and *Goudbloem* sailors were drafted to strengthen the weak military power of Van Goens. The difficulties which Van Goens had to overcome were therefore many, while the reputation of the East India Company was sometimes not a little imperilled "just at the time when the action against the enemy appeared to be so seriously taken up and the greatest successes were hoped therefrom." Van Goens' troops marched to the river where they saw Cochin lying on the other side. Here stood a respectable building which served as the dwelling of the Archbishop. In the vicinity of this, the troops put up a small fortification of palisades with four points and named it New Orange. They hoped thereby to be protected against the enemy coming from the opposite side. Here 300 men were left behind under a competent chief. These three hundred, it is true, were from the most unserviceable of Van Goens' troops, "it being preferable to risk our lives and liberty with beasts rather than being hindered with greater peril through a useless crowd." To the remaining 1500 were added 100 soldiers summoned from those re-established at Quilon and a 102 sailors who were to attend to the field guns. In his undertaking Van Goens had principally to rely on the troops that had come along with him from Coromandel and Ceylon. The Lords Seventeen could have better kept in the Netherlands the folk they had sent out.

With 1700 men Van Goens decided to attack the town of Cochin which was compared by him to the 17th Century Leyden. Amply provided with ammunition, artillery and people and well fortified, Cochin had, since the days of Albuquerque, already been made into a strong fortification. To this fortification in the course of years yet greater improvements had been effected. They had also made the town safe against attack on the sea-side by a wall. Cochin was very beautifully situated on the river where there were solid and superb houses and buildings. Not a few churches adorned the town. A Jesuit Church with a College attached thereto stood on the sea-coast with a stout prominent tower well provided with clocks and built in brickwork on the vault of the choir. A large wall ran round about the convent wherein there were 70 or 80 cells and apartments. Also the Cathedral of Cochin was well built with two rows of pillars and a respectable tower. Further there were besides an Augustinian church with a monastery situated on the river and a Dominician church artistically and splendidly built with double pillars of excellent stones. Besides they found a number of chapels and smaller meeting places. The gardens of respectable houses of Cochin were surrounded mostly by a high wall. The town was built more in length than in breadth. The broadest part was in front of the sea and it was very small on the riverside.

The densely populated native Cochin was, after the manner of the land, built with broad roads and streets. The palace of the king, a very high stone building, contained a number of chambers and apartments. In close proximity there was found a tank and a Hindu temple.

In the town the relations between the Portuguese and the natives were so good that the king of Cochin and the members of his family would have offered their lives for them as was evident in the attempt against Cranganore. For the Dutch a landing would bring with it great perils for them. And as the enemy was in a very advantageous position, Van Goens virtually staked his all on a single throw, particularly as the Nayars might again array themselves with the Portuguese in battle against the Dutch. And it remained to be seen whether there would be a chance for an armed, attack. Also, along the shore the Portuguese had, to a distance of no less than 1½ miles, strengthened a fortification which stretched itself from the coast to the church of St. John in the town with trenches, corps of guards, entrenchments, fences and retreats. Should it be almost impossible to break through all these fortifications and the venture failed, then not only Quilon and Craganore, but even the island of Ceylon, would be greatly imperilled.

Before Van Goens allowed his troops to land on Cochin soil, he wanted, although wholly against his will, to offer to the Portuguese the terms of the Lords Seventeen. Van Goens meant to know whether one section of the citizens was perhaps inclined to accept the terms; but with a strong military garrison and English influences (An English yacht lay within the town and the crew were willing to help with the artillery) a negative answer was as good as certain. After the capture of Cranganore it was just the moment to offer those articles because perhaps, through these favourable terms and the publicity about the Company's victorious arms, there might arise a discord between the citizens and the militia. Van Goens despatched to the town the merchants Van Weerden and Verspreet, both good linguists experienced in state-affairs. Though blindfolded, they were received very honourably and treated complimentarily by the Portuguese Commander Ignatio Sermento. Their proposals were very courteously dismissed. Among other things, to these proposals were added the suggestion that though the Dutch seized the town, they should give it back to the Portuguese. They were alluding by this to the peace negotiations which had been started between Portugal and the Republic. And it was indeed southern courtesy that Sermento added to this that he hoped quickly to hear the news that would lead to his embracing the Dutch General as one of his best friends.

While the Dutch fleet lay in front of Cochin, the captains of an English frigate, the "*Surat Frigate*", sought to be permitted to go inside Cochin for making some purchases. This ship was sent in connection with English attempts to establish a factory at Purakkad. The king of this land shortly before this had made a request to the English and the latter hoped to acquire a trade monopoly in this land and thus check for ever the further expansion of Dutch influence (*vide* Foster: *English Factories* 1661-1664, page 76). The English had moreover obtained a relish of the pepper of Purakkad. They desired to obtain here large stocks of pepper when the price stood lowest which was the case in the rainy season when no competing merchants could touch the ports on the west coast of India. In the rainy season the price was 30 to 40% cheaper than at the time of the arrival of the English ships. A steady lowering of the prices should therefore be very much desired. John Harrington and Alexander Grigsby, both experienced in the trade of Purakkad by reason of their long stay in Old Kayal, were enjoined to set themselves up at Purakkad and buy pepper stocks. The ship, the *Surat Frigate,* was to bring these English agents to Purakkad. If the Dutch refused admission, they were to try to touch Quilon or Calicut or other places where good and cheap pepper could be obtained. If they were fortunate enough to enter into agreements with Indian princes, they were to take care that the Dutch did not know the terms on which the contracts were concluded. The new establishment was to be under the President of Surat. Entrance to the Cochin harbour was, however, refused to the English by Van Goens.

For the security of his army Van Goens knew nothing better than secretly to direct the merchant Verspreet who remained behind as Chief at Vypeen to keep the men under him ready at the time of the landing to be able to return to the ship immediately in case of a bad termination. For this purpose Verspreet had at his disposal two ships, and as there seemed to be no danger for the remaining navy, Verspreet was commanded to withdraw the garrison at Cranganore and to send four merchant vessels with convoy beyond Goa. With the remaining forces he should sail to Quilon and from there despatch a ship to the Governor-General and Council. Quilon, must in any case remain occupied.

Among the soldiers Van Goens could count on about 700 old tested men who thought it more honourable to die than budge an inch backwards. The fortress in Vypeen, New Orange, was so situated that Cochin could be heavily bombarded from there. The river at this point was tolerably small. The Portuguese vainly tried through heavy return firing to hinder the making of that fortification.

However, a landing from this side was not to be thought of. Therefore, first, the army was again shipped. This happened secretly in the night and without mishaps. On the 2nd February, 1662, the landing four Dutch miles south of Cochin was risked.[1]

Accompanied only by a Brahmin, the claimant to the Cochin throne awaited their landing in the hope that the Dutch would restore him to his throne and kingdom. With very great joy and liberal open heartedness, the Moottatavazhi prince welcomed Van Goens to his land. Schouten who was present at this meeting gives an accurate description of the outward appearance and deportment of this exiled prince as "showing himself in our presence to be gay spirited, full of courage, quick and sagacious in all his actions." His dress was that of a distinguished Nayar—white cotton cloth and many golden ornaments on ears, arms and legs. He was well-built, rather corpulent, "having the gift of the gab, clear-sighted and wholly merry in spirit," well versed in the Portuguese language, moderately white, and according to one's guess, thirty-four years old. Van Goens recognised in this prince already a useful "instrument" for inspiring confidence in the people of the land towards the Dutch army, but yet more important service in the future was desired from him. He promised to supply all possible provisions to the Dutch army on condition that Van Goens' troops, in their march through the land, would leave undisturbed the landed estates, houses and other possessions. The claimant was very much loved by the populace who still honoured him as their monarch. The high nobles alone had chosen the party of the prince patronised by the Portuguese.

To their no small astonishment at the unwisdom or bad deliberation of the enemies who had so negligently lost this chance, the Dutch met no resistance and now entertained the hope that the sequel would also go equally well as they had taken the greatest care about the landing. After the army was placed on the land

---

[1] 1 Dutch mile = 5 English miles.

and the Rev. Baldaeus had held a thanksgiving service, the troops arrayed themselves in battle order. Divided again into three brigades, the men marched forth in good order along the shore of the kingdom under the shade of the high cocoanut palm groves. At midday, because of the unbearable heat, they made a halt in a small Malabaree town. Schouten and his companions in the march were delighted at the beauty and prosperity of the land which they passed through; everywhere, they saw attractive fields, plains, ponds, and walks which were separated from each other by fruit-bearing trees planted outside properly and very attractively. The inhabitants had fled, but, on being urged by the Moottatavazhi prince and the Brahman, they again made their appearance. In consequence all possible provisions plenteously flowed into the camp through the town. The claimant to the throne assembled some of the nobles who were his trusty followers who thereupon declared for the Dutch. The Moottatavazhi showed himself exultant and almost danced for joy on the earth. Facing his adherents, he showed himself majestic, charming and friendly although Van Goens was less satisfied with his administrative ability.

A strict prohibition was promulgated that no harm or loss should be inflicted on the inhabitants and that the soldiers should be met friendly by the inhabitants.

Gradually the Malabarees came out of their hiding places, surrounded the Dutch camp inquisitively and evinced great delight at their arrival.

After the worst heat had begun to abate, the Dutch troops marched with flying standards and beating trumpets compactly along the coast for having a free view. Here the Portuguese had built strong fortifications to prevent the landing of the Dutch. But this was a vain labour as the enemies had set their feet to the south of those fortifications. Near a large Catholic church dedicated to St. James with some outhouses about an hour's distance from the town, the army halted. As this place was very conveniently situated and they could secure themselves against assaults, the night was spent in and about this building. From here the enemy had previously fled taking with them all their goods. The following morning it was seen that the Portuguese found themselves in front of the Dutch army. The soldiers, after being well supplied with food and drinks, were abundantly inspired with courage. They showed themselves ardently desirous to fire on the enemy. Nevertheless, it did not come to an attack. The Portuguese appeared to have put their trust on the resistance of their strong walls and bulwarks. The enemy burned the entire land with the intention that not a single advantageous place should fall into the hands of the Dutch. To prevent this as far as possible, Van Goens set his troops compactly behind the enemy. The Portuguese fled and came near the town into a large stone church on the sea-coast which was strengthened with a wall as a fort. They appeared to have been willing to wait for the Dutch, but as soon as they perceived that the Dutch wished the Portuguese to make the attack, the latter set the building on fire to spite the Dutch who had readily made the building a depot for their ammunition and must now be contented with its ruin. So, with their courage restored, the Dutch used the church as a store house and watering place. The ships came to anchor here as close as possible.

The Portuguese shamefully fled to the town without discharging, as they retreated, more than 20 or 30 musket shots on the Dutch. Between the church and the town far within reach of the gunfire of the Portuguese was situated a cocoanut palm grove where the enemy concealed themselves in the hope that through it the Dutch could be enticed to be in reach of the defence works of the town and the shot of their gun and cannon firing. The Dutch managed to throw the enemy into confusion through an artifice which made them take to flight. As the Dutch were not wholly certain of the attitude which the Nayars would take up and had well perceived that a large army was busy concentrating near the palace of the king of Cochin, in the neighbourhood of which a leading Hindu temple of Malabar was situated, they did not wish to risk a treacherous attack in the rear and decided therefore to come to an understanding with the king of Cochin. If he showed himself to be unwilling, then he must be attacked and destroyed. For this purpose, under the personal command of Van Goens, Roothaes and the captain Du Pon nine companies were led to the palace of the king. He was staying here with his brothers and heirs. Likewise the old queen lived in their palace more or less in captivity. Twelve companies under the command of the Commander Godske remained in front of the town to keep a watchful eye on the enemy. Coming in frnnt of the king's palace, the men noticed a very hostile disposition. Still Van Goens offered peace, a peace which was hardly possible as Van Goens appeared as the defender of the claims of the expelled Moottatavazhi. No answer to these proposals was received. During the negotiations armed Nayars came very close to the Dutch uttering sharp threats. Eventually there followed a shower of bullets. Hereupon the Dutch proceeded to make a violent attack on the palace. Not less fierce was the resistance offered by the Indians. The Portuguese who meanwhile had learned what was going on made a sally on the Dutch troops assembled in front of the town. They were forced to march back with loss. This encouraged all the more those who stormed the palace. Three times the Dutch were taken in by the peace offers of the enemy, for as the Dutch stopped shooting the Portuguese doubled the firing and made many victims. Therefore the Dutch decided not to hesitate any more and to kill all the enemies by fighting. The violent combat lasted for three hours. Van Goens was very much concerned for the life of the old queen of Cochin, Rani Gangadhara Lakshmi, great aunt of the claimant Moottatavazhi who could easily have fallen a prey to the soldiers bent on murder and eager for booty. Her death, the Dutch would have reckoned as an infamous deed as she was venerated by all the princes and inhabitants of those regions. Van Goens therefore instructed that in the first place the safety of this princess and her ladies of the bed chamber should be assured. For this purpose he promised to the lieutenant Hendrik Van Rheede, the well known future Commandeur and Commissaris-General, the first vacant place of captain if he would carry the old queen into safety from the fury of the Dutch soldiers. Van Rheede knew that this Commission could not be executed without peril. As soon as the old queen was safe, Van Goens caused her to be asked about her wishes. She showed a fierce hatred against the dynasty placed on the throne by the Portuguese and gave the Dutch full freedom to extirpate the dynasty to the last man. The palace was now stormed from two sides at the same time by Roothaes and Van Goens They effected a frightful slaughter. The palace and the vicinity lay full of slain Nayars. The walls were coloured with blood and splashed with brains. Among the slain were the king of Cochin and two of his brothers besides ten of the leading chiefs. Not less than 600 Nayars laid down their lives in order to protect their prince. Only the youngest brother of the King with a fairly large number of Nayars was able to flee in time. This Godavarma, the same who though wounded escaped from the Dutch by swimming at Cranganore, now for a second time managed to run away without falling into their hands. The half destroyed church of St. John was fitted up as a hospital. Thanks to the Dutch victory, the Moottatavazhi could now take possession of his palace.

The capture of the palace made a deep impression on the Indian population. The Nayars alone had taken part in the battle. The rest of the population, the farmers and the artisans, had watched the conflict with a far from good mood and did not seem to be troubled about the bereavements sustained by the Nayars. With great awe, the population subjected themselves to the obedience of the United East India Company. The old queen showed herself to be very glad at having been freed from the tyranny of the usurper and to see her beloved nephew, the Moottatavazhi, as king again. The entire land between Cranganore and Cochin was now subject to the Dutch. The troops who had effected the attack of the palace were again brought to the camp in front of the town. Only one Company remained behind for the protection of the old queen. The attack had cost the Dutch about 23 killed and more than 70 wounded soldiers who belonged to the best of the Company's men. It became clear that the battle against the Malabaree militia was much more dangerous and difficult than that against the Portuguese soldiers. The worst was that all captains were wounded as also some of the oldest lieutenants and standard bearers. Although none of the principal leaders was disabled, the loss to the captains was very serious. Very soon after the victory near the king's palace, Van Goens wanted to move to the storming of the town. Meanwhile, the siege was prolonged with great energy. For the safety of the army the front and rear had to be protected. Because of the great extent of the town, this was no small task. Cochin lay on one side of a large river. On the landside, one half lay against a marsh, and the other side bordered on a big lake and on that side was strongly fortified. Van Goens suspected that the enemy in the town was stronger than the besiegers.

After the capture of the Cochin king's palace, great discord arose between the citizens of Cochin and the Commander about the subsequent attitude towards the enemy. Ignatio Sermento who, as even his opponents must admit, was a brave and energetic man knew to maintain the authority of the military and to keep under control the citizens who had not fled. He considered it more honourable to be killed or taken prisoner than that he should agree to a surrender. Even the clergy whom he did not fully trust were kept out by him from the governing bodies. Two or three years ago there was a great disagreement when the citizens felt themselves to be complete masters of the town and besides there were very little fortifications. The threatening peril from the Dutch had brought about a total change in that situation. The alliance with the English increased not a little the courage of the Portuguese. With the help of the English naval forces they hoped to defeat the Dutch and at least to reconquer Ceylon.

The besiegers lacked the requisite labour force to surround the town completely. Therefore they sought for a weak spot in the Portuguese defence system so that they might hazard an attack there. For this the landside close to the river was found to be the most favourable. After Baldaeus had invoked the blessings of God on the army, they risked the storming. The troops were split into two. All at once, with the first attack Peter Wasch who had meanwhile been promoted as Major was killed. Just when the work appeared to succeed, followed the reverse. The enemy had noted the intention of the Dutch and were greatly alarmed. Van Goens' troops tried to push forward and already took a house that stood outside the wall and on a street that proceeded from the town. They hoped to maintain their position there and advance further. But the enemies set the house on fire from two sides. Not less than 60 or 70 Dutchmen had to defend themselves here against the enemy as well as the fire. The isolated group of men was in a critical position. The Dutchmen outside the town saw with anxiety that their commanders were shut up. How to offer them help? They could not retreat any more as the enemy had taken possession of a palisade fortification which was first in the hands of the Dutch but had been abandoned by them some time earlier for fear of fire. The fortification was situated on the way which the shut up soldiers must pass through to come out again from the town. Here they had immediately to intervene courageously. Van Goens now caused a heavy grenade firing open on the enemy and threw up on the road between the town and the Dutch army a strong entrenchment of rubbish stones, planks and all that they could find. At the same time they were to break through the town wall on the other side of the captured house with crowbars. This enterprise succeeded and the Dutch got away from the fire without being seen by the enemy. The Portuguese had now to run to their weapons. Each party expected to be attacked by the other. The Dutch contented themselves with the capture on the first day of the suburb close to the wall on the river side. The number of the dead was very great, but very much to be deplored was the loss of the clever Major, Wasch. Eight to ten persons were wounded. Among them was the not hitherto wounded captain, Martin Scholten, who received a bullet through his lung. Van Goens and Roothaes stood in peril of losing their lives on that day. The former was almost hit by a bullet which luckily dropped on a golden hook of his hat as a result of which he escaped with singed hair while Roothaes almost fell backward into a deep well. At night the Dutch encamped in the open field and the captured houses. The enemy had a great advantage over the Dutch because of the large circumference the latter had to defend. From the sea-side or the first captured church to the river side the distance amounted to 4000 ft. (1 foot = circa 0·284 miles). To be able to defend this line Van Goens had not even 1400 soldiers at his disposal. The right course for the Dutch was to storm the town. But against this many difficulties presented themselves. Of the strength of the enemy's forces, Van Goens could not obtain reliable information He was also deeply concerned about the island of Ceylon because of the perils it might run into as a result of any possible defeat. The fortification of the town was yet fully intact. The scaling ladders could only be carried to one side through a marsh and to the other side through the open field where the Dutch had to face a double fortification and a lower rampart. The greatest anxiety of Van Goens was that if the assaulters were repulsed, there would, because of the small number of available soldiers, be no covering force as the soldiers who could be relied on had to fight in the first lines. If these suffered defeat, then all was lost. The assault would thus be rather a mad man's desperate work than prudent tactics. All this compelled Van Goens to proceed with the siege and to risk no second assault. Even that would, with limited forces, be sufficiently hard work. No engineers, engineering officers or others who had experience of the art of besieging were present in the army. With the limited experience which Van Goens and even his officers had acquired, they had to secure a reasonable defence system. The army was divided into three sections. For encouragement the troops were given ten stuivers (pence) per day and in addition a mutsje (¾ pint) good arrack, sometimes even two. About the willingness and diligence of the troops, Van Goens had nothing to cmplain. Trenches and entrenchments were constructed and cannon provided. In fifteen days they had so far progressed as to be able to fire at the town from very near. The troops under Roothaes were encamped at the outermost point of Cochin, those of Godske near St. John's church on the sea-side and those of Van Goens in the middle near St. Thomas' Church. This church which ministered to the St. Thomas Christians was used by the Dutch as a hospital.

The merchant Verspreet who had put up a fortress at Vypeen had, with the help of the crew of the boats, begun to discharge his artillery to the town from that side so that his balls sometimes even came straight to the Dutch army of occupation on the other side. At first it seemed as if they would be able, by this incessant bombardment, to wear out the enemy. The firing produced big breaches in the enemy's defence works. But these were so strong and the enemy showed such great courage in closing up the breaches again that success was delayed. Meanwhile, many ships had to be sent to Persia and Surat for fetching costly cargo from there. As these ships had need of convoys for which most of the sailors were necessary, the work of the siege could not be continued. Thus the enterprise was set back not a little. The soldiers complained that in addition to their hard labour they had also to keep guard. They murmured and preferred to fight rather than do this hard work. Sickness, especially the notorious beri-beri plagued the troops. Before the sailing of the ships Van Goens once even deliberated with his war council about risking an assault. But the difficulties were still always the same. Again an assault was postponed. The ring of defence was now almost closed. The enemy besides made it appear this his courage had somewhat faded away whereupon Van Goens sent away the ships. The siege could then be continued only in two quarters. As the soldiers from Vypeen already bombarded the town with 16 half kartouws (short heavy cannon) and twelve pounders, Van Goens hoped that the Portuguese would be exhausted. But at the outset it became apparent that there was not much of exhaustion as the enemy even merrily shot back and showed that they had no shortage of gunpowder or lead. The breaches caused by shooting in the day were closed in the night. Rightly the enemy counted on his sally in the long run.

The Dutch had nothing to complain about the supply of provisions. The rural people offered everything in plenty and sold them at low prices. Van Goens made these people acknowledge the Moottatavazhi as their king and swear loyalty to him. Re-instated on his throne, he surrounded himself with a retinue and court. This king was now free to put on more splendid dress than ordinarily, clothing himself with fine white cotton clothes. He was adorned with pure gold chains and beautiful jewels.

The sole help which the Dutch received from the Zamorin was that he showed them no enmity. He even dared to ask payment for his Nayars and made demands on the old queen of Cochin who however had not only attached herself to the Dutch but also placed herself under the special protection of the United East India Company. So long as the Moottatavazhi was an exile, he could reckon on the support of the Zamorin. But now that he had obtained in the Dutch such powerful protectors, the old opposition between Cochin and Calicut was immediately revealed. Van Goens even suspected that if the old queen was but once more in the Zamorin's hands she might be murdered and that would be eternal shame and reproach to the Dutch. The claimant (Moottatavazhi), more accustomed to be an exile than a ruler, could no longer obtain the contentment of the Zamorin. The Dutch had at every moment to mediate between both parties as they were dependent on the help of the Dutch and they also did not know what decisions the Dutch would take if this Cochin was once captured.

After the victory near the Cochin king's palace, the Zamorin wished to come near the Dutch with his forces; but when this was known to the natives, all of them began to flee to the interior as the subjects of Cochin and those of the Zamorin had always been hereditary enemies. There was great fear of a wide-spread rebellion as a consequence of which no provisions would accrue to the Dutch. But they could no more deny the Zamorin's request as his friendship was very necessary and they must not arouse his suspicion. The Zamorin feared that, if the Dutch, already masters of Cranganore, could now win Cochin also, they would place him under constraint as the Portuguese had. His jealousy was the greater because the king of Cranganore was very much attached to the Dutch, perhaps in the hope that through them he might be protected against the forces of the Zamorin. He was therefore politely requested to postpone his visit till Cochin was captured. After that they would receive him with all marks of honour. But the Zamorin had already sent one of his blood relations with one hundred Nayars in one of the Company's ships. This aroused again, in large measure, the uneasiness and suspicion of the Moottatavazhi and his aunt, the old queen, who felt they had been betrayed by their protectors as they could not believe that the Zamorin could without the knowledge of the Company use their ships. Van Goens succeeded in removing the fears of both by promising that the Dutch would not permit the Zamorin's Nayars to alight on land. But the other party could not be repudiated altogether. The Dutch received the prince with all marks of honour. His Nayars were however to remain in the ships. Moreover this prince was, by Van Goens's diplomatic talents, persuaded of the necessity of not causing unrest among the rural population by the arrival of the Zamorin or of his troops.

The fugitive prince, Godavarma, had meanwhile taken refuge with the king of Purakkad. The latter assembled together a large army of 6000 Nayars recruited for the purpose of attacking the Dutch in the rear and approached three hours' distance of Van Goens's troops. The situation was so perilous that the wounded in St. Thomas Church were no longer safe and the church was evacuated. The Moottatavazhi had not in that short time acquired very much authority and in consequence the leading forces of the queen defected from him. Most of the nobles of the land viewed the matter rather as one to be decided on the basis of which would be the winning party. Under polite pretents they continually postponed their visit to the Moottatavazhi's palace. Those Nayars consisted of about 800 to 1000 men to which were to be added those of Tekkenkur and Vadakkenkur. The old queen, afraid of the forces of Purakkad, realised that the number of Nayars of her nephew was too small and consented finally that the Dutch should solicit the help of the Zamorin. The latter, on being now implored, offered hard and definitely unreasonable terms. Finally he agreed to help and sent three hundred armed Nayars. Speedily followed, in addition to these three hundred Nayars, another seven hundred Nayars. For fear of the evil that he might do to the old queen, the Dutch sought to hinder the Zamorin's visit as much as possible as he belonged to a ferocious barbarous stock and was a perfidious avaricious man.

Meanwhile, off and on, small skirmishes took place between the Nayars on the Dutch side and the enemies on the river and on land. Gradually, with very hard labour and much shedding of blood, the Dutch approached the town. The greatest difficulty of the Dutch was their lack of small vessels which made it impossible for them to control the river. Not less anxious were they about the shrinking of the already diminishing gunpowder and especially of the stock of lead. The Zamorin who could easily have provided these by laying hands on the ships of the pirates dwelling in his dominions disappointed the Dutch in this matter probably because he was afraid of offending the subjects of these pirates and thus suffering loss of the gains he enjoyed from them. The small vessels of Tekkenkur and Vadekkenkur were too light to transport the Dutch sailors. Similarly, it was not possible for the Dutch to hinder the import to Cochin of provisions and other necessaries which were brought to the town from Anjikamal, the land situated on the opposite side of the great river. All women, children and valuable possessions were brought outside the town for safety by the Portuguese. No unnecessary measures disclosed the manner in which the Dutch were taking action for a conquest. Schouten also narrates that the generals permitted their soldiers to give free scope to an overwhelming pleasure in robbery, plunder and outraging of women. A common phenomenon at that time, this indulgence could not now for once be withheld.

In Cochin the bombardment wrought great damage but the breaches in the ramparts and walls were again repaired in the nights by the Portuguese, sometimes at great peril for their lives. As the Dutch could not completely cut off the supplies to the town, the Portuguese succeeded in obtaining reinforcements in the town from Goa through inland waterways. By showing flags and ringing bells the enemy could cause this to be made known.

Meanwhile the season advanced far and the showers of rain which were falling speedily made further continuance of the siege works impossible. The ground became a marshy plain wherein the digging soldiers sank deeply. Diseases broke out among the troops. At the end of February, Van Goens had hardly 1200 men for service, of whom he could rely only on 700.

Yet Van Goens did not think of giving up. But when the stock of lead so ran out and the quantity of gunpowder was so diminishing that they dared not any longer to shoot both in the day time and at night, it was decided to choose the better of two evils, either to risk an assault or to break up the siege. From elsewhere a stock of lead and gunpowder was not to be expected. From Coromandel Van Goens had taken with him the available gunpowder and to make up for the shortage of saltpetre no replenishing stock could be sent to him from there. Ceylon had also delivered what the island could in some degree spare. Fortunately Van Goens received from the High Government a stock of gunpowder. The shortage would otherwise have already been manifested much earlier.

For long Van Goens stuck fast to his plan of remaining encamped in front of Cochin during the whole of the rainy season. But after deliberation with his commanders, Roothaes and Godske, he eventually placed before the war council both the alternatives an assault or the raising of the siege. A storming would, however, have meant sure death while the Dutch would have jeopardised not only their lives but also the reputation of the Company and of a great portion of the army and the navy. It was extraordinarily pitiful that the insufficiency of the stock of gunpowder and lead had not been obvious. Had the Dutch been able to fire at the town for eight or ten days more with the force of 18-20 kartouws, that together with the firing from Vypeen would certainly have brought about the fall of Cochin. As matters now stood, the war council could only have pronounced in favour of the raising of the siege. Also, most of the high officers, when asked by Van Goens for counsel, gave no other advice.

On the 2nd March the decision to raise the siege was taken, a very bitter disappointment for Van Goens. All the labour, all the trouble and all the cost went for nothing. For him it was more unpalatable than death. Very secretly, everything was prepared for the retreat so that his own troops were not wholly informed of it. But suspecting treachery blazing on the roof that they should get away from, he began to show himself not a little discontented. They were made to believe that a general storming of the town was contemplated and not being sure of the result, they were having all the heavy war material brought on board. This had to happen fairly quickly because of the fierce waves that were beating everywhere against the coast. During the entire night, the enemy was made to believe that the besiegers were encamped in front of the town. For this purpose a constable, Hendrick Boerdorp, who as the last to be left behind made a noise as of a whole camp and showed himself a prominent imitator of sounds was very serviceable. After this man had also come on board, the fleet sailed. Only at noon of the following day did the Portuguese realise that the Dutch had this time departed without bidding adieu. When on board the master roll was called, only one black slave was missing. He, in his sleep, without his knowledge, had charged his master. It so happened that the retreat of the Dutch was in such a manner that the enemy could not boast of it and could fortunately only say that they were delivered from the enemy. To the last, the Dutch remained master of the field while the enemy was sore smitten and suffered great damage. Without even a man or anything valuable being left behind, the retreat took place while they maintained their position in the possessions they had already won.

Van Goens very well foresaw what deep disappointment this partiality unsuccessful undertaking would arouse in Batavia and the Netherlands. But in full consciousness that he had done nothing else than his duty, he wrote to his superiors. "It should as well be more divine than human weapons that always accomplish their design. We have laboured and leave to your Honours' high wisdom and experience the judgment."

After the departure of the Dutch army and the Zamorin's Nayars, Vypeen was still kept occupied for the Company till the end of April in order that the Malabar princes who had chosen the side of the United East India Company might not waver in their loyalty.

The claimant to the Cochin throne (the Moottatavazhi) who now once again had to go into exile placed himself under the authority of the Company. As this was a very important matter especially in case peace was concluded with the Portuguese, the High Government had to make a decision about the subject. It was therefore very necessary that Van Goens personally went to Batavia to submit a report on this and other matters to the Governor-General and Council. So long as the season permitted it somewhat, the Commander Roothaes remained behind on the coast to prevent auxiliary squadrons sent from Goa to Cochin entering that harbour. Before Van Goens quit the Malabar Coast, he concluded various treaties with Malabar princes.

With the Zamorin who with his retinue had brought various requests to the Dutch Fleet it was agreed on the 7th March, 1662 on the Admiral's ship the *Noteboom* in front of the island of Vypeen that these 2000 Nayars of his should join the Dutch army under the command of himself or of one of the princes of the blood royal. The Zamorin also promised to give the Dutch 300 coolies for the defence works. All pepper in the Zamorin's land should be sold to the Company at the market price. The pepper should not be sold to others, neither to the natives nor to European merchants. So long as a garrison of the Company was stationed at Cranganore, no toll was to be paid on this pepper. Afterwards, they should conclude another treaty. Whenever the Zamorin, for himself, wished to send pepper to Mocha, this should only happen with the written consent of the chief officer of the Company at Cranganore given in the name of the Company. All possible materials, timber, lime etc. necessary for the fortification were promised to the Dutch by the Zamorin. Moreover, provisions and lead should be furnished against payment.

As long as Cranganore was occupied by the Dutch, the Company was permitted to buy all goods, and in particular, timber, cardamom and wax and to export them freely from the Cranganore river to other places. If the United East India Company captured Cochin, Cranganore fort should be demolished by the Zamorin and the artillery captured from the Portuguese should be divided in accordance with the draft treaty agreed during the previous year with the Zamorin by Adriaan Van der Meyden.

In the treaty should also be included the king of Cranganore, the Paliyatteer and all Malabar princes who wished to be included.

Further, the treaty continued a number of stipulations which defined the jurisdiction of both sides over the subjects. If one of the merchants who carried on trade fled, he should be handed over by the Zamorin. The Company must not, however, impose extra burdens on the merchants, but must place them under their protection. If the Dutchmen and the natives were involved in a quarrel and murder and homicide resulted from the same, the guilty should be handed over to the respective authorities of each party to be punished according to the laws of each (the native to the Indian judge and the Dutchman to the Dutch). Both should, however, impose the death penalty for murder. If a Dutchman for some reason escaped to the land of the Zamorin, the latter should provide him no shelter, but should try to have him traced and delivered to the Dutch authorities. In conclusion, the Company promised that the town of Cranganore as also Palliport and Vypeen would be kept under their occupation for the Zamorin until the ensuing November if this was possible.

On the 12th March the lord of Paliyam or Paliyatteer, baron of the island Vypeen, placed his land and subjects under the protection of the United East India Company and promised that neither he nor his successors would enter into any alliance with the Portuguese.

After the conclusion of these treaties, the relations with the monarch of Travancore and the queen of Quilon had to be regulated. A further contract was concluded with them on the 31st March, 1662.

All insults, expenses and damages by which both parties had brought misery upon each other should be considered as not having happened and should therefore be forgotten and forgiven. The old contract concluded on the 7th January, 1659 was renewed. In addition to the conditions of this contract, it was now stipulated that, after the conclusion of this agreement, the merchants could bring their merchandise to the market freely. After eight months had elapsed and if the friendship was then well maintained, Van Goens, in the name of the United East India Company, promised to give back the artillery that had been seized when the palace of the queen was attacked. Besides the Company should then add to that one piece of artillery and 15,000 fannams as a present so that the good understanding might continue to be cultivated. The King of Travancore and the Raja of Kayamkulam stood sureties for the maintenance of the contract. Further, in this treaty, the various stipulations which clearly defined the mutual jurisdiction between Indian and Dutch governments were again taken up. Finally, for the benefit of the Dutch fortifications at Quilon, it was resolved that in order to ensure a better view to the Dutch, no houses be built or trees planted in the open space around the town. The timber of the trees which had been felled remained the property of the Company. This treaty was signed on behalf of the Indian authorities by the queen Singati (queen of Desingnad) and her leading ministers and a representative of the king of Travancore.

The good understanding with the Raja of Kayamkulam, the old friend of the Company, had also to be placed on a firm basis. Van Goens left the settling of this matter to his representative, Isbrand Godske. The old treaty of 1st March, 1643 was renewed. Besides, it was still further explicitly stated that all the pepper from the king's lands should be sold to none but to the Company and specially not to other European nations like the English, the French or the Portuguese.

Neither by sea nor land nor by the inland rivers should they transport pepper to other lands and in particular not to Purakkad and Cochin. The king should very strictly forbid the merchants of his land doing this and he should take care that this stipulation was observed.

If the merchants infringed this stipulation and tried to export pepper secretly, this pepper should be seized for the benefit of the king and the Company, each party taking one half of the same. The Company was permitted to build a stone warehouse on the coast at the riverside for storing pepper. The building operations should be subject to the approval of the king.

Through all these treaties the Company became the master of the pepper from Cape Comorin to the river of Purakkad. The treaty with the Zamorin, moreover, assured them of the pepper from Calicut to the river of Cochin. What rights the mandate of the king and the old queen would furnish to the Dutch when, as was possible, a peace was concluded with the Portuguese had to be settled later in due course.

The conclusion of all these treaties kept Van Goens busy on the Malabar Coast till the 8th of April. Not until the 11th of April did he again set his feet on Ceylonese soil.

From all the soldiers only 200 could be sent to Batavia. A good four hundred of this expedition did not return. The largest portion of the most experienced soldiers they had was killed. The rest, principally the novices, died of fever, dysentary and other diseases. Moreover, the expedition had resulted in more than 400 having been wounded among whom were all the captains and many of the cleverest lower officers. But God, in spite of thank-fasts and days of intercession, had not shown Himself favourably disposed towards the Dutch. "Of this, palpable signs like rain and tempests appeared with the coming of the monsoon. It appeared that we have had reason to pray for His holy will over that and we have specially to be thankful that it was not worse." Before his departure, Van Goens had appointed the merchant Abraham Verspreet who had already proved himself a heroic and discreet person to be in charge of Cranganore and the soldiers stationed there with the designation of Provincial Commander. The yachts *Leeuw* and *Kat* as also the frigates *Kaneeltak* and *Angelier* remained behind for the security of the Cranganore river. The garrison consisted of nine companies, each comprising seventy-five soldiers under the first captain Pierre du Pon, and the provisional captains Pieter Van Anden and Hendrik Van Rheede besides nine lieutenants. The crew comprised a unit of 120 to 130 persons. At Quilon there remained behind a garrison of 450 men under the captain Christiaan Poolman and the provisional captain Barend Schuylenbergh besides three lieutenants. This was a larger army of occupation than what had been left behind after the first capture of that town. All the remaining soldiers returned to Ceylon so that as many as could be spared from there might be sent to Batavia.

Quilon was supplied with gunpowder from the stock which Ceylon had collected with much trouble. In order to prevent in the future such shortage of gunpowder as had happened to this expedition a new powder mill was established at Colombo and another was also be started in Coromandel on an equal scale.

For the fortification of Quilon about 26000 cocoanut trees were cut down by the Company. In consequence an open space of about one hundred yards (1 yard = 12 to 13 feet) came into existence around the town. A great portion of Quilon was cut down as a result of which the town was reduced about $\frac{2}{3}$. The walls had to be strengthened with extra timber and earth. A moat two yards wide was dug around the place. This was strengthened on the land side with palisades serving as a front fence. A stock of timber was also kept for use if danger arose.

Schouten also left the Malabar Coast with the fleet. His ability was recognised and he proceeded on his return journey to Batavia as Chief Surgeon on the Admiralship the *Muskatboom*. On board he found his hands had to do so much to all the sick and the wounded that he could "obtain very little time to rest in the night amidst all this turmoil."

The partly unsuccessful termination of this expedition which had cost the Company not less than guilders 130,343-6-4 was largely to be attributed to the fact that they were not able to begin in time and make better preparation. Not a little had the inexperience and bad quality of the men contributed to the failure. They were not lacking in ships and a sufficient number of soldiers. But it was to be deplored that men "who were accustomed to the air of this land and who were a match against the enemy" had not been sent. Van Goens judged it unjustifiable to expose such inexperienced, raw, young and weak soldiers against such a dangerous enemy as the Malabaree Nayars. In whole companies they took to flight and left their officers alone to stand on the field. Really they were but big boys who had not yet been accustomed to war. It was not only against the soldiers that Van Goens had serious complaints. The ships' crew were sent in such all too small numbers that none of them could be used in the army. As Goa was not blockaded, the largest portion of the naval forces had continually to pass windward against the enemy to prevent succour reaching the besieged towns. The Company's fight against the Chinese attacking Formosa was naturally enough one of the chief causes for their not having been able to provide better for the expedition to Malabar.

With a certain resentful pleasure the Governor Van der Meyden learned of the result of the undertaking of Van Goens who did not succeed in bringing to a good result the enterprises which he had so highly and pressingly recommended. Van der Meyden hastened to keep the High Government informed of this before the message of Van Goens could have reached Batavia and he did not deny himself the chance to insert insinuations, about the direction of his enemy who had made him undergo such humiliation. The worst accusation was that Van Goens should have had sufficient gunpowder in stock to bring the siege to a successful end. Van Goens knew to dispose of and invalidate these accusations and protested very much against the idea that the Directorate of the United East India Company had decided on this expedition solely on his own proposal and under pressure from him. But he consoled himself "The good man is so angry with me that he seems to forget himself, now deserving more to say as if he could do more than is possible for him."

From his superiors Van Goens received full approval and appreciation which they did not fail to bring to the notice of the envious Governor of Ceylon. Although the results had not fulfilled the high expectations which they had originally cherished, yet great losses had been inflicted on the enemy. The chief goal was attained. The United East India Company had put themselves on a strong basis on the West Coast of India, and on this foundation they could successfully build.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle for Freedom

BY

PROF. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is a truly heroic figure in the history of India's freedom struggle. He is indeed memorable as the man who ushered in an altogether novel and daring line of action in the fight for India's liberation. One of the greatest freedom-fighters in world history, Netaji staked all and sacrificed everything even life itself, in his efforts to free India from the foreign yoke. His career was a mission in a true sense of the term. His flaming idealism, his burning patriotism and his undying courage constitute a thrilling chapter in the annals of modern India.

From his younger days, Netaji devoted himself to the service of the motherland. As a student, he was intensely patriotic and unusually independent-minded. Soon after his educational career he entered the political world, and spurned a life of ease and comfort. As a youngman when he was in Europe he regretted that the Indians could not avail themselves of the opportunity which the World War I had given. He honestly believed then that the moderate policy of the Indian leaders was at this time entirely wrong. He knew how the dependent European peoples like the Czechs, the Poles and the Irish had taken advantage of the war. The Czechs became free. The Poles also formed their own government. The Irish revolted during and after the war under the Sinn Fein Party and the British were brought to their knees in the end. Netaji therefore waited for another war when India could take up arms.

On return to India he joined the Congress under Mahatma Gandhi, because there was then no other way to serve the country. But, he thought all the time that a pacific movement could not bring freedom to the country. Still, he remained in the Congress in the hope that the civil disobedience movement would strengthen political consciousness among the people and prepare them for subsequent military revolt. From 1921 when he joined the Congress he waited for a war in Europe and knew that a war was inevitable.

When he went again to Europe in 1933, he carefully studied the situation there to find out what was going to happen next. During his stay in Europe he visited Germany and met Hitler, and was convinced that sooner or later there would be a world war. In 1938 when he was once more in Europe he noted the changes in the situation, and was still more thoroughly convinced that a war was coming. Back home, he started the propaganda that India must be alert and prepare for a struggle. It was at Tripuri session of the Congress in March 1939 that he first tabled a bold resolution demanding freedom for India within six months. But, the Congress did not give him the requisite support at this time.

Netaji's role as a Congress leader was from the very outset characterised by a spirit of revolutionary dynamism and his forward and aggressive ideas reinforced the leftist trend in Indian politics. Having made great sacrifices like Nehru, he was also associated like Nehru with the formulation of the socialist idea in India. But, his Congress leadership, distinguished though it was, was only a prelude to his subsequent role as a soldier of freedom in distant land. It is his spectacular war-time escape from the country despite the surveillance of the British police and his remarkable exploits after this outside India which really establish his title to immortality as a national hero.

The daring with which Netaji escaped from India reminds us of the exploit of Shivaji and his escape from the clutches of Aurangzib. Netaji was in jail at that time. To run away from jail was impossible in view of the British C.I.D. So, he resolved to start a hunger strike. This decision was taken with the obvious idea that either he would die or get out of the jail. After seven days of hunger strike when his condition became grave, the Government released him in the hope of rearresting him after a month. During this brief respite, Netaji fulfilled his sensational plan of leaving the country incognito.

The crisis of World War II was the life's chance for Netaji and in the peculiar interaction of world events and forces he visualised the possibility of a grand strategy of military action against the British Government in India. He indeed opened a real second front outside India for the Indian movement which had been going on inside the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It was a truly hazardous gamble, but with an almost reckless abandon he took all the risks to prepare an armed invasion of India. After the heroic leaders of 1857, he was the first Indian to plan the overthrow of the British rule by military revolt. Those who scoffed at his wild adventure and also those who traduced and misrepresented his motives had to acknowledge in the end his unalloyed patriotism and heroic leadership.

There was a time when the British propagandists and many Indians doubted his bonafides and took him for a Quisling in the pay of the Axis powers. This accusation was as false as it was cruel. A man whom the powerful British Government sent to jail eleven times and yet could not cajole or corrupt would not dream of selling his conscience to Germany or Japan. Netaji's objects in going over to the Tripartite Powers was only to seek their help in India's fight for freedom. These Powers and India had presently a common enemy, and therefore there was bound to be for the time being at least a common interest and objective. Netaji simply tried to exploit the international situation, but he was never once willing to give up his freedom of action on any account. Till the end, he studiously maintained his independence and never allowed himself to be dictated to by the Axis Powers. He avoided humiliation in accepting or asking for assistance.

The manner in which Netaji recruited and assembled a national army first in Europe and then in the Far East testifies to his wonderful capacity for organisation and skill in strategy. It was indeed a signal achievement that he induced the Axis Powers—and Japan in particular—to render all possible military help to his plans to liberate India. It was even a greater achievement that he organised the scattered Indians outside India—especially Indians in East Asia—and prepared with their moral and material assistance a fighting force which was named Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian Army of Liberation. This army was fashioned entirely under Indian leadership and went to battle under Netaji's supreme guidance. Its inspiring slogan, "To Delhi, Onward to Delhi", galvanised the entire I.N.A. personnel with the three ideals of patriotism, duty and sacrifice. Everyone was conscious of the grave risks and manifold difficulties that faced the army, but

Netaji instilled into every heart an unshakable determination to fight for the motherland shoulder to shoulder through joy and sorrow, through sunshine and darkness and through suffering and martyrdom till the goal was reached.

As a student of history and, specially, of freedom movements in foreign lands, during his public life, Netaji had always felt that what India was lacking in her fight for liberty were two things—a National Army and a National Government to lead the army. The successful creation of the National Army led Netaji to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This Government was not like a normal peacetime Government. Its functions and its composition were of a unique type. The whole organisation was of a semi-military nature, and it was made a fighting body with the object of launching and conducting the liberation struggle against the British rule in India. This Government was also designed to organise the entire Indian community in East Asia and mobilise all their financial resources and manpower for the final struggle.

It is significant that this Azad Hind Government which was formed on foreign soil ushered in a new era of Indian political enterprise and produced a great effect on the popular mind in India. The recognition it received from the Axis Powers gave it an international status which went a long way towards strengthening the morale of the Indian people in and outside India.

Netaji's bid to launch an offensive on the Assam front with the help of his new Azad Hind Force will be long remembered as a romantic chapter in the history of India. The initial success of his army in penetrating inside the borders of Manipur was, however, ultimately frustrated.

A number of reasons combined to bring about this failure. Firstly, there was no immediate response from within in the shape of a widespread internal revolt to synchronize with Netaji's attack on India. Secondly, Netaji could not find sufficient time to build up an efficient force which could be a matter for the British army. Thirdly, Netaji's Azad Hind Government failed to collect adequate man-power for the invading force. Fourthly, there was also a shortage of financial resources, even though the rich Indians in South East Asia gave munificent donations to Netaji. Fifthly, there was a woeful lack of sufficient airforce, armaments, munitions and other war materials on account of which the Azad Hind Force was sorely handicapped. Sixthly, owing to Russian and American pressure in the East, Japan could not find it possible to spare adequate reinforcements to Netaji. Lastly, food supply was scarce from the beginning in the jungles of Assam and Manipur, and many of Netaji's men were on the verge of starvation, and were obliged to surrender on this account.

Even though Netaji's plans eventually failed, his grand failure itself created history. His historic achievements in the Far East and at the Manipur front brought at least moral victory for the cause of India's independence. His lofty idealism created a new spirit among the Indians, and his I.N.A. completely shattered the illusion of the Indian sepoy army's blind devotion to the alien ruler. If the British Government had in the end to decide to quit India, one of the contributory causes was the new conviction that the Indian sepoy army would no longer fight and die for the British Government. The new feeling of self-sacrifice and patriotism of the men of the I.N.A. who had once served under the British and had surrendered to the Japanese in the Far East and Burma showed that the days of British domination in India were over for ever.

It is immaterial whether Netaji died in an air-crash, or escaped alive. Heroes like him are immortal and do never die. It is enough that by his sacrifice and martyrdom he richly helped in contributing to the foundations upon which Free India will have to be built.

A Chaturmukha-Linga from Sirpur, Raipur District Madhya Pradesh

BY

M. VENKATARAMAYYA

During the process of clearance of a portion of the area round the famous Lakshman temple at Sirpur, Madhya Pradesh, a sculpture of a *Chaturmukha-Liṅga* was discovered recently. The sculpture is about 2½′ high and is carved in fine-grained basaltic stone. The photographs (Nos. I to V)[1] of the sculpture published alongside shows that nearly 2/3rds of the lower portion of the sculpture, which is rough dressed, was intended to be embedded leaving the top 1/3rd portion to be above ground level and worshipped, since the four faces of the *Liṅga* and the top occupy only the top one-third of the piece. The sculpture appears to be so fresh and its lower portion preserved so much intact that it appears doubtful if the deity was actually installed though completed in all aspects. However, the *Chaturmukha-Liṅga* is one of the best preserved and artistically one of the most beautiful of the early *Chaturmukha-Liṅgas* that have come to notice so far.

Before postulating on the significance of the four faces of Śiva in this form, it is essential to determine at first the date to which the present sculpture can be assigned. In this effort we are guided primarily by the facial features of the four *mukhas,* their plasticity and physiognomical type as compared with other datable sculptures of the period in and around Sirpur. On comparison with the other datable sculptures, other than Buddhist or Jaina, which abound at the place, it is found that the features of the present sculpture bear very close resemblance to the seated Vishṇu (Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa) image (in *lalitāsana*), which is the main deity in the Lakshmaṇa temple (photograph VI). The resembblance is so striking not only in the psysiognomy but also in the treatment of the eyes, the neck with three folds, the lips, the nose and the ears, as well as in the ornaments and the hair-do, which are strikingly alike. It is found that the necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*) of three strands on the four faces of the *Mukhaliṅga* is of the same type as on that of the image of Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa. The fillet around the forehead, the arrangement of the hair which is finished in the *jaṭāmakuṭa* style is significant, for here at least, a Vaishṇava image is bedecked with a *jaṭāmakuṭa* in preference to the usual *kirīṭa* or *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that the present *Chaturmukha-Liṅga* and the Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa image (locally called Lakshmaṇa) emanated in the same period if not from the hands of the same sculptor. The date of the Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa image can be settled more or less accurately since a reference to the construction of the temple wherein it is at present enshrined is available in the famous Sirpur Lakshmaṇ temple inscription of Queen Vāsaṭā.[2] Herein it is stated that the Queen erected a temple for Hari (*Harēr=dhāmam*). The verse recording this fact contains an unmistakable allusion to the fact of the temple being similar to the abode of Vishṇu in the heavens, i.e., *Vaikuṇṭha,* thereby indicating that the god installed therein represented Vishṇu as lord of *Vaikuṇṭa* (*Vaikuṇṭha-nātha*). The verse reads:

---

[1] The copyright of these and of all other photographs published here belongs to the Archaeological Survey of India.

> line 13. ....Tayā nijaḥ
>
> 14. prētya patir=yathā-vidhē vasaty=asau nityam=upāsit=Āchyutaḥ prakāśituṁ tādṛiśam=ēva
> kāritaṁ vibhōr=idaṁ dhāma Harēḥ sanātanam ||20||.

and I have no reason to alter the translation given of it by Hiralal as follows:

> V. 20. By her this eternal abode of the Lord Hari was caused to be made to show (*exactly the abode of Vaikuṇṭha*) where her deceased lord lived worshipping daily the imperishable (*Vishṇu in heavens*).

The composer of the verse has so realistically indicated the feelings of the widowed queen who built the temple intending to worship therein lord Vishṇu in the same form in which her husband was worshipping Him in heaven, i.e., as Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa thereby vindicating not only her constancy to the Lord of her life, i.e., her husband, but also to the Lord of her own Lord, i.e., Vishṇu. Incidentally it may be said here that the image of Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa now found in the so-called temple of Lakshmaṇa at Sirpur and popularly known as Lakshmaṇa must have been the very image caused to be enshrined by queen Vāsaṭā as mentioned in the inscription, for the verse in the inscription clearly indicates the form of the God for whom she built the temple as that of *Vaikuṇṭhanātha.* Thus the image of Vaikuṇṭha Nārāyaṇa which was enshrined by Vāsaṭā as well as the present *Chaturmukha-Liṅga* are coeval with the period when queen Vāsaṭā lived and flourished at Sirpur.

---

[2] *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff and plate.

Queen Vāsaṭā was the queen-mother of Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna who is known to us from a few inscriptions both on stone and on copper plates. It is learnt from them that he was a great devotee of Śiva, his very name being indicative of it. He was none the less devoted to Vishṇu and to the Buddha. One of his inscriptions discovered recently at the excavated site at Sirpur records a benefaction made to a Buddhist *Vihāra* during his reign.[3] Another inscription[4] also found in the vicinity of the Sirpur village records the construction of a temple of Śiva by the king's general, Durga-Rakshita, who, besides, made a gift of land to a Śaiva ascetic for the maintenance of Śaiva ascetics attached to the temple. In this inscription Mahāśiva-Gupta is not only hailed as a devotee of Śiva but more significantly as an incarnation of Vishṇu also. Hence there is no wonder that his revered mother, Vāsaṭā, assumed that her husband Harshagupta had gone to Vaikuṇṭha and was living there, that is, had gone back to his old abode having left, as an incarnation of himself, his son, i.e., Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna in this mundane earth. The image of Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa set up by her is, curiously enough, two-handed, a feature quite strange in a deity representing Vishṇu as a divinity seated on the coils of Ādiśēsha. Hitherto only a few images of Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇ, i.e., Vishṇu seated on the coils of Ādiśēsha, have been found and they are four-armed.[5] This is apparenlty the only instance where it is two-armed.[6] Evidently because of this feature, namely two hands, the local people assumed that it must be a representation of the Rāmāyaṇa hero Lakshmaṇa who was the incarnation of Ādiśēsha and not that of a divinity like Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa. But the inscripton is clear in stating that it was a temple of Hari that was erected by Vāsaṭā and no reference is made to Lakshmaṇa. If we may hazard an explanation why Vishṇu of this temple is represented only with two hands, we may state that queen Vāsaṭā wished to have a human image of Lord Vishṇu to represent her own husband who has been hailed in inscriptions as a *Parama-Vaishṇava*. In such a case it is possible to understand from the verse that she constructed a temple enshrining therein an image of Hari in such a form as to assume it to be her own husband in order that she might herself worship at his feet here on earth in the same way as her own husband himself is worshipping Achyuta, i.e., Lord Vishṇu, in the heavens.

---

[3] *Epigrahia Indica,* Vol. XXXI, p. 197 and pl.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 31 and plate.

There is an unsettled controversy regarding the actual period when the Sōmavamśi dynasty, of whom Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna was the last known ruler, flourished. While Mirashi holds to the view that they all flourished before the end of the 7th century,[7]

---

5. Krishnasastri: *S. I. Gods and Goddesses*, p. 52 and pl.

6. Evidently because it is two-armed it has been thought that the image represented a Nāgarāja (*A.R.A.S.I.*, 1909-10, p. 12). Although the representation of Vishṇu (Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa) with two hands only (and with no other indication except that of his seat on the coils of Ādiśēsha to connect the figure with Vishṇu) is rather uncommon we may draw attention to several sculptures of Śiva (*sukhāsīna*) with two hands only in the early sculptures at Badami, Ajanta and Ellora. It appears, therefore, that it is a common enough practice to show Vishṇu or Śiva as two handed when he is represented as in his own abode, Vaikuṇṭha or Kailāsa and when he is not in his *archāvatāra*. The *Bṛhatsamhita* makes mention of two armed Vishṇu (See J. N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1956, p. 400-1). It is also necessary to observe that unless the Nāga element, i.e., either the hood or the body, of such composite images forms an integral part of the main figure, it is not reasonable to assume that they are all Nāgarājas. In the present case of the so-called Lakshmaṇa image, identified by me as Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa, the main human figure is shown quite distinct and apart from the Nāga on the threefold coils of which it is seated and also canopied by the hood of the Nāga. The representation of Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa in this form has been explained above.

7. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.

Amalananda Ghosh and others have expressed the opinion that the last of them, i.e., Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna could not have flourished before the beginning of the 8th century.[8] Hence a difference of a century exists in the computation of the dates during which these rulers, particularly Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna and his Queen-mother Vāsaṭā lived. On the evidence of the stone inscriptions at least, what Amalananda Ghosh has concluded, namely, that it is palaeographically impossible to place Tīvara and his successors before the last quarter of two 7th century A.D." appears to be quite correct. The palaeography of the copper plates is less dependable and less conclusive as that of stone inscriptions of which we have a few more specimens, particularly of the reign of Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna in question recently discovered. They are the Senakapat inscription and the Sirpur inscription, both discovered by Moresvar Dikshit in recent years.[9] The palaeographical dating of these has been rather vaguely stated by the editor as 7th or 8th cent. A.D. Until a more satisfactory evidence other than palaeography is available it may not be far wrong in regarding Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna and his Queen-mother Vāsaṭā as having lived in the 8th cent. A.D. Accordingly the date of the image of Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa and that of the *Chaturmukha-Liṅga* may be placed in the 8th cent. A.D.

Though the photographs published here render a detailed description of the features and ornamentation of the four faces of the image rather redundant, it is, however, felt necessary to draw pointed attention to the main features of each of the four faces. As stated already the sculpture was discovered in an abandoned state and not found set up in any particular orientation. It is, therefore, necessary to determine the orientation of the image as it should or would have been installed according to the texts relating to the installation and worship of a *Chaturmukha-Liṅga*. According to these texts, a four faced *mukhaliṅga* will have the face of Tatpurusha or Mahādēva, representing the air (*vāyu*), orientated to the east, that of Aghōra or Bhairava, representing fire, to the south, that of Sadyōjāta or Nandivaktra, representing earth, to the west and that of Vāmadēva or Umāvaktra, representing water, to

---

8. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXV, p. 269.
9. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXI, pp| 31, 197.

the north. The fifth, i.e., top face, called Īśāna is formless and directed towards the sky and represents ether (*ākāśa*).

Paśchim=āsyaṁ sthitaṁ śubhraṁ kuṁkum=ābhaṁ tath=ōttarē |
Yāmyaṁ kṛishṇa-karāḷam śyāt prāchyāṁ dīpt-āgni-sannibham ||
Sadyō Vāmaṁ tath=Āghoraṁ Tatpurushaṁ chaturthakaṁ |
Pañchamaṁ cha tath=aiśānaṁ yōgināṁ=apy=agōcharam ||

(quoted from pp. 27-8 of T. A. G. Rao, *Elements*, Vol. II, p. 2, Appendix B. See also Vishnudharmottarapurana, III kanda, adhy. 48, vv. 1 ff).

In the present case, out of the four faces, that of Aghōra is easily distinguishable by its very striking and unmistakable features and ornaments like the snake and the *kapāla* in which the Aghōra, i.e., the fierce aspect of Śiva, is usually portrayed. Keeping this face directed south as per the textual injunction it becomes easy to orientate as well as to equate the other three faces and identify them as those of Sadyōjāta on the west, Vāmadēva on the north, and Tatpurusha on the east.

To begin from the eastern face, the face of Tatpurusha is portrayed with open eyes and with a slightly smiling countenance. The third eye is drawn vertically on the fore-head and the hair is arranged in the form of an inverted cup-shaped *jaṭā-makuṭa* with two half-opened lotus buds decorating its front. The fore-head bears a fillet with a central ornament, i.e., *padaka*. A necklace of three strands decorates the upper part of the chest. The ears have extended lobes and bear round ear-rings.

The southern face, that of Aghōra, is quite in consonance with the name and shows prominently the teeth exposed as though in *vikaṭahāsa,* which by far appears to be one of the best physical representations of the Aghōra aspect of Śiva. All the eyes are opened including the third eye. The textual description reads:

sarvāṇi saumya-rūpāṇi
dakshiṇaṁ vikaṭaṁ mukhaṁ |

As in that of Tatpurusha the ornaments worn are the same. The *jaṭā-makuṭa* is also similarly arranged as in that of Tatpurusha but bears the emblems, a *kapāla* and a snake, which are the distinguishing marks of Aghōra. There is a slight difference in the patterns of each of the ornaments worn, *viz.*, the necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*), the fillet on the fore-head and the ear-rings dangling from the lobes of the ears.

The next face on the west, i.e., Sadyōjāta, is found here to have, as usual, the three opened eyes. The lips are slightly parted in an expression of *mandahāsa*. The ornaments, namely the necklace, the ear-rings and the fillet over the fore-head, are again slightly different in pattern from those worn by Tatpurusha and Aghōra mentioned above. But the most striking and exclusive decoration noticeable on the *jaṭāmakuṭa* of this Sadyōjāta is the crescent moon which adorns the proper left side of the *jatāmakuta* (*bālēndukṛitaśēkharaṁ*). It is interesting to note that by adding the crescent the sculptor has determined in the most telling fashion that that was the Sadyōjāta form, facing the west. To explain how this is borne out, it may be stated that the lunar crescent which adorns the matted locks of Śiva is believed to be in that size and shape which it bears on the third day of the *śukla paksha,* that is, the waxing moon. On the third day of the *śukla paksha,* the waxing moon in the crescent shape is also considered holy for *darśan* and is seen only on the western horizon, sometime about twilight (*pradōsha-samaya*). Perhaps in consonance with this belief the Sadyōjāta form which according to the texts is to face the west, is adorned with the crescent thereby determining the correctness of the orientation we have assigned to this face. The *pradōshamūrti* of Śiva in the later Śaivite iconography is doubtless a development of the west faced crescent-adorned Sadyōjāta-mūrti.

The last of the four faces, i.e., that of Vāmadēva on the north, is perhaps the most attractive and beautiful of all. This is as it should be, for the texts, which describe the features and the physiognomy of Vāmadēva, say much the same. Here in the sculpture we find him with a serene and contented face which is again devoid of the third eye giving a plain fore-head which befits so well the serenity of the countenance.

Trilōchanāni sarvāṇi Vāmadevaṁ dvilōchanam;

* * * *

Trinētrāṇi cha sarvāṇi vadanam=hy=uttaraṁ vinā ||

The eyes are bent slightly down and looking in the same direction, while those of the other three faces not only have three eyes (*vishama-nētra*) but also have the pair of eyes in *vishama-dṛishṭi,* i.e., each of the eyeballs seeing in a different direction but not parallelly. The significance of this *vishama-dṛishti* is not known. The ornaments, namely, the necklace, the ear-rings and the fillet round the fore-head of Vāmadēva are again slightly different in their pattern than those of the rest. The one common feature which Vāmadēva bears with that of Tatpurusha is the half-opened lotus buds which adorn the *jaṭā-makuṭa*.

Antiquity of the Mukha-linga Images

Perhaps the earliest sculpture of the *Mukha-liṅga* is that found at Bhita near Allahabad and which is now kept in the Lucknow Museum. Not only does the sculpture represent one of the earliest known representations of the *Pañchamukha-Liṅga* but what is more unique in this sculpture and helpful for the purpose of our study is that it bears an inscription palaeographically assignable to the first century B.C. recording its installation by some persons. The inscription states that it was a *linga*.[10] The top of the *liṅga* is shaped in the form of a male figure only upto the bust and is described by R. D. Banerjee as holding a vase in his left hand while the right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudra*. The remaining four faces are carved on the four cardinal sides of the cylindrical *liṅga* but their facial features are not clear enough so as to determine their respective identity. From the photographs of the same which are published, it is possible to identify one of them as that of Aghōra, for, the lips and the protruding teeth of its face render the identification more than plausible. What is a striking feature of this four figured image is the extended ear lobes which bear the earrings some of them in the form of *patra-kuṇḍalas*. There is no specimen of a *Pañchamukha-Liṅga* with all the five faces including the top one, i.e., Īśāna figured. Dr. J. N. Banerjee instances a few *Pañchamukha-Liṅgas* as also a few *Ēkamukha* and *Dvimukha* types.[11] But none of them is datable as early as the *Pañchamukha-Liṅga* from Bhīta. It may not be improbable that by the first century B.C. the philosophy as well as the physiognomy of the

---

[10] *A.S.I. An. Rep.* 1909-10, p. 148 and plate LIV; Dr. J. N. Banerjea (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956), p. 464 n. however discounts if it is a *linga* at all and supports Dr. Fuhrer in identifying it as a memorial pillar set up by the sons of Khajahuti (Rupam: *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. III (1935), p. 40; Vol. V (1937), p. 20).

[11] Rupam: *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. III (1935), pp. 40ff.; Vol. V (1937), pp. 29ff.

Mukha-Liṅgas were fairly well established. Only instances have been very rare except those which occur in much later periods.

It would be interesting to mention a few of the well-known *Chaturmukha-Liṅgas* that have been found in different parts of our country. Of these, the one from the Mahadeo temple, Nāchnakuṭhēra is, in respect of ornamentation at least, similar to the present Sirpur *Mukha-liṅga*. The period to which this image can be assigned can only be provisionally fixed at about the 10th century A.D. on stylistic grounds (Photograph VII-IX). Another fine type of *Chaturmukha-Liṅga* hails from Jyoti,[12] near Siddhavattam in Cuddapah district. Three images of Chaturmukha-mahādēva have been discovered at Kanouj, all assignable to the same period, i.e., 10-11th century. Of these, one is illustrated here showing the four faces (Photographs X to XIII). The absence of the third eye in the face of Vāmadēva here also is noteworthy. Another *Chaturmukha-Liṅga*, of which the Vāmadēva face is entirely broken is found in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Photographs XIV to XVI). In this the portrayal of the Tatpurusha face with the crescent, like that of Sadyōjāta, is evidently a departure from the injunction of some of the texts wherein, as remarked above, only the Sadyōjāta face is to bear the crescent. However, one text attributes the crescent even to the Tatpurusha face,[13] thereby suggesting this as a later development.

It is interesting to draw attention to an entirely different type of *Mukha-liṅgas* of which two specimens exist in the Ajmer Museum having been discovered at Kāman[14] (ancient Kāmyakavana) in the old Bharatpur state (*Photographs* XVII to XXI). These two sculptures of *Chaturmukha-Mahādēva* do not portray the Sadyōjāta and other aspects of Śiva but bear quite a different series of divinities like Sūrya, Vishṇu, Brahmā and Śiva. Their correct orientation at the time of installation is not known and hence one is at a loss to determine in what direction each of these four deities faced.

---

[12] T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. II, Pt. I, Plate XI, p. 98.

[13] *Aparijitaprichhā* quoted in D. N. Shukla, *Vastu Sastra,* Vol. II, Part IV, p. 122.

[14] That this place was a centre of Pāśupata Saivism is indicated by an inscription found there in which several *Āchāryas* with their names ending in the suffix *Rāsi* are mentioned; see *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXIV, pp. 333ff.

A similar *Chaturmukha-Mahādēva* with the aforesaid four divinities figuring on the four sides was obtained from Java and exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[15]

These latter instances represent only what Dr. J. N. Banerjee has aptly described as syncretistic icons of which there have been myriads of combination of deities not only of the Hindu pantheon but also of Hindu-Buddhistic pantheon.

Esoterism of the Mukha-liṅgas

The texts describing the four aspects of Śiva as delineated in the four faces of the *Mukha-liṅga* imply that there must have been some well-understood doctrines underlying these portrayals. But beyond indicating that the five faces represent the five elements—earth, water, fire, wind and ether—further direct clues as to their esoteric or philosophic significance are not forthcoming. It is clear that the four lateral *mukhas* and the fifth, the top *mukha*, (i.e., Īśāna) constitute a unit both iconographically and doctrinally. They are to be understood and interpreted as the manifestation of a single unified divinity or *tattva*. To this some scholars have given the term *Sadāśiva-tattva* or *Mahāsadāśiva-tattva*. The four of the five *mūrtis* are iconographically shaped in the *liṅgas* while for the fifth *mukha*, termed Īśāna, being considered invisible as stated in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, no particular shape is given to it except in one instance, viz., the Bhīta *liṅga* mentioned above. But Īśāna when not forming part of the *Pañchamukha-Liṅga* icon is a separate and individual deity and there are descriptions of his attributions and physiognomy when individually sculptured or when forming part of the fully represented iconographic five faced form of *Sadāśiva*. It appears that the philosophical tenets underlying the conception of the *Pañchamukha-Liṅga Mahāsadāśiva* and its iconographic representaiton had a common content which is originally derived from the *Mantras, Sadyōjātaṁ prapadyāmi*, etc.

It is in the *Nārāyaṇōpanishad* of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (c. 3rd cent. B.C.) that we find these invocations addressed to the great Lord (*Paramēśvara*). Their texts are reproduced below to show that there occurs nothing in them to indicate any visual forms attached to the invocations.

---

[15] Ann. Rep. *A.S.I.*, 1924-25, plate XXXVII.

Sadyōjātaṁ prapadyāmi sadyōjātāya vai namaḥ |
bhavē bhavē n=ātibhavē bhajasva māṁ bhavōdbhavāya namaḥ ||
Vāmadēvāya namō jyēshṭhāya namaḥ śrēshṭhāya namō rudrāya namaḥ kālāya
namaḥ kalavikaraṇāya namō balavikaraṇāya namō balapramathanāya
namaḥ sarvabhūtadamanāya namō manōnmanāya namaḥ ||
Aghōrēbhyō=‘tha ghōrēbhyō ghōra-ghōra-tarēbhyaḥ |
sarvataḥ śarva sarvēbhyō namastē astu Rudra-rūpēbhyaḥ ||
Tatpurushāya vidmahē mahādēvāya dhīmahē
tan=nō Rudraḥ prachōdayāt ||
Īśānaḥ sarvavidyānām=īśvaraḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ brahmādhipatir=brahmaṇō=‘dhipatir=*Brahmā* śivō mē astu Sadāśivōm ||

The subject-matter of the invocations is purely a prayer addressed to the great Lord, who in each of the five invocations is given certain specific attributes which, excepting *Rudra,* are not shared by the others. Thus, in regard to Sadyōjāta the specific attribute *Bhavōdbhava* is significant. In respect of Vāmadēva, the attributes are *Jyēshṭha, Śrēshṭha, Rudra, Kāla, Kalavikaraṇa, Balavikaraṇa, Balapramathana, Sarvabhūtadamana* and *Manōnmana* or *Manōmana.* These altogether make nine specific attributes for Vāmadēva. Of Aghōra, the attributes mentioned are *Ghōra* and *Ghōratara,* which are again defined as the forms of *Rudra.* Likewise of Tatpurusha, the attributes are *Mahādēva* and *Rudra.* Of Īśāna, he is invoked as the supreme lord of learning (sarvavidyānam=Īśvaraḥ) and also as the lord of the animate objects (sarvabhūtānām=Īśvaraḥ), as the lord of the Vedas and of the *Brahman* (*Antarātmā*) and as *Sadāśiva.* As for the commentators' gloss on the interpretation of these attributes we have only Sāyaṇāchārya to rely upon who understands that all these five sets of *mantras* were addressed individually to each of the five faces (*vaktras*) of Mahādēva by those desirous of enlightenment and understanding regarding the *Purusha* and that four of the faces were orientated towards the four cardinal directions and the fifth one towards the *ākāśa.* It is not known how and why Sāyaṇācharya says that the *mantras* are addressed to a face (*vaktra*) and how each face (*vaktra*) came to be directed towards a cardinal point. Sāyaṇāchārya's commentary is rather late being of the 14th century and much posterior to the iconography associated with the *Sadyōjātādi mantra-svarūpas.* Even in his *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha,* Sāyaṇāchārya does not offer any reason for the particular orientation of each of the five faces of Mahādēva nor is it convincingly explained by him as to why the five *mantras* are to be addressed to the five *vaktras.* He simply justifies the assumption of physical forms by the Infinite Lord as necessary to show mercy to his devoted servant and that the Sadyōjāta, etc., forms are some such. Evidently he had accepted their iconography as a settled fact for some of the texts which we have quoted above containing the descriptions of the four lateral faces of the *Mukha-liṅgas* and of the top face of Īśāna are earlier in date than Sāyaṇa.

It is interesitng to note that the *Chaturmukha-Liṅgas* occur in places which, as gathered from inscriptional and other archaeological evidence, were seats of the Pāśupata Śaivism. It is, therefore, no wonder that the earliest *sūtras* expatiating on the five worshipful aspects of *Mahādēva* in the famous Sadyōjāta *mantras* of the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* are the Pāśupata Sūtras attributed to Lakulīśa and who is believed to have lived about 200 A.D.[16] The earliest commentary on these *sūtras* are those of Kauṇḍinya who is placed not later than 600 A.D.[17] The earliest datable Sanskrit text which gives the facial description of the *pañchamukhas* is the *Vishnu Dharmottara Purāṇa* which is also placed not later than 650 A.D.[18]

It is among the doctrines of the Pāśupatas that the Sadyōjāta *mantras* are elevated to the level of *bīja-mantras* forming the *makuṭa,* i.e., crest of their tenets, i.e., of Pāśupata Śaivism. These Pāśupata Sūtras, popularly known as *pañchārtha,* are grouped into five sections by the commentator Kauṇḍinya (c. 400 or 600 A.D.) each section ending with an exhortation to meditation (*atra idaṁ brahmajapēt*) of the five *Sadyōjātādi mantras.*

> *japyaṁ nāma sadyōjātādishu akshara-*
> *paṅktyāṁ manasā bhāvasya sañchāra*
> *vichāraḥ* (*Pañchārtha Bhāshya,* I, 8).

---

[16] *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXI p. 7.

[17] *Pasupata Sutras,* Triv. Sansk. Ser. No. CXLIII (1940), Introd. p. 15.

[18] *Vishnudharmottara Purāṇ,* III Kanda, ed. by Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah, G.O.S. No. CXX (1958), Introd. p. xxvi.

Although the Pāśupata Sūtras, to quote Dasgupta,[19] "do not give us any philosophy of 'Saivism' and deal almost wholly with rituals, or rather modes of life", yet Kauṇḍinya's commentary which is called *Pañchārthabhāshya* does provide some insight into the understanding of what is conveyed by the invocations in the *Sadyōjātādi mantras.* However, in none of his statements explaining them, is there any indication of the iconographic form attached to the invocations. The attributes have been explained and invoked in their formless abstractions having as its central conception, viz., that of the *Brahman,* i.e., the spirit or *ātman* (*atra idam brahma japēt*) and thereby indicating the Sadyōjāta, etc., concepts as related to Brahman. Thus we are introduced to five such Brahmans, Sadyōjāta-brahman, Vāmadēva-brahman, Tatpurusha-brahman, Aghōra-brahman and Īśāna-brahman. At some period these five sets of *mantras* have been understood to be invocations of the five Brahmans the *Pañcha-brahmans* regarding which there is a separate *upanishad* called *Pancha-brahmōpanishad,* stated to be a portion of the *Krishṇa Yajurvēda.*[19a]

The Pāśupata Sūtras are taken up with the ways and means of obtaining *duhkhānta,* i.e., dissolution of sorrow, which is caused by circumstances broadly classified as *ādhyātmika, ādhibhoutika,* and *ādhidaivika.* When questioned by his pupils as to how the end of sorrow caused by such factors, as mentioned above, can be achieved, Lakulīśa is stated to have expounded the *sutras* which are termed as *Pañchārtha* by their commentator owing to the fact that the objectives dealt with in the *sūtras* are five, namely, *kāryaṁ, kāraṇaṁ, vidhi, yōga* and *duhkhānta.* Each of these five *arthas,* i.e., objects of discussion, (*pramēyas*) are introduced in the following manner: *duhkhānta* is to be obtained only through the grace (*prasāda*) of God and not through *jñāna, vairāgya,* etc. In order to invoke the grace of god, one has to practise *pāśupatam* which is a kind of *yōga,* i.e., coalescing of the *atman* (self) with Paśupati, i.e., Īśvara. This merging is obtained through a process of action. In this process there are five main courses of action, the ultimate object to be realised being *duhkhānta.* The first may be termed as preparation or definition of things to do (*kāryaṁ,* 5 *yamas* and 5 *niyamas*); the second, doing of certain action (*kāraṇam*); the third, observance of restrictions (*vidhi*); the fourth, the obtaining of knowledge (*vidyā*) and the fifth, the continuous application of the mind (*yōga*) to the obtaining of the grace of god to achieve the end of *duhkha* (*duhkhānta*). These five courses of action are detailed in the five sections of the Pāśupata Sūtras. Each of the sections ends respectively with the exhortation to meditate on the Brahman invoked in each of the five strings of *manthras* as Sadyōjātā, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpurusha and Īśāna:

---

[19] *History of Śaivism,* Vol. V: Southern Schools of Śaivism (1953, p. 130.

[19a] Bāṇa: *Harshacharitra:* A *Pañchabrahma* prayer addressed to Lord Śiva is alluded to in this work. The Translators Cowell and Thomas understood by this prayer as the one addressed to Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpurusha and Īśāna. (Trans. P. 15, f.n. 2).

japyaṁ nāma sadyōjātādishu
aksharapaṅktyāṁ manasā bhāvasya
sañchāra vichāraḥ (commentary on p. 14, *Adhyāya* I, *sūtra* 8).

Therefore, there is reason to associate each invocatory string of the mantras with each of the five courses of action. It is apparent that each prescribed course of action is helped or encouraged by meditating on the *mantras.* Although none of the *pañcha-mukhas* are explained by Kauṇḍinya in his commentary on the *Pañchārtha* nor does he associate the *Sadyōjātādi* mantras as invocations addressed to particular faces, yet, here and there, we get glimpses of his awareness of the fact that certain images of Mahādēva existed and of which the faces were directed towards particular cardinal points and that the orientation of the faces had some philosophical or esoteric significance. Commenting on one of the Pāśupata Sūtras which reads:

Mahādēvasya Dakshiṇāmūrtēḥ
(*Adhyāya* I, *Sūtra* 9, of *Pāśupata Sūtras,* p. 14)

Kauṇḍinya is clear in his exposition that there were faces of Mahādēva directed towards the other directions and that the present *sūtra* is not concerned with those forms.

Dakshiṇāmūrti grahaṇātt pūrvōttara-
paśchimānāṁ mūrtīnāṁ pratishēdhaḥ |
Mahādēva grahaṇāt anyadēvatā-bhakti
pratishēdhaḥ |

Expatiating on the word *dakshiṇāmūrti* Kauṇḍinya says:

mūrtir=nāma yad=ētat dēvasya dakshiṇē
pārśvē sthitē n=ōdaṅmukhēn=ōpāntē

> yad-rūpaṁ upalabhyate *vṛishadhvaja-*
> *śūlapāṇi-nandi-mahākāla ūrdhva-*
> *liṅg=ādi lakshaṇam*
>
> (*Adhyāya* I, *Sūtra* 9, page 15)

by which it may be understood that there were five *mūrtis* having the *lakshaṇas* or marks distinguished as *Vṛishadvaja, Śūlapāṇi, Nandi, Mahākāla* and *Ūrdhvaliṅga.* In another context while expatiating on the *pañchārtha,* i.e., subjects of discussion, namely, *duhkhānta, kārya, kāraṇa, yōga, vidhi* and on the *Pāśupata-Yōga-vidhi* under the first *sūtra,* Kauṇḍinya clearly states that the desciple who desires initiation into the *Pāśupata Dharma* should have been thoroughly examined, should be a Brahmin and should invoke the *mūrti,* i.e., the figure of Mahādēva on the southern side of Mahādēva and anoint himself with holy ashes sanctified by the *mantras Sadyōjāta,* etc.

> *mahādēvasya dakshiṇasyām mūrtau*
> *sadyōjāt=ādi samskṛitēna bhasmanā*
> *samskarōti* (*Adhyāya* I, *Sūtra* 1, page 8).

Here also it is learnt that Kauṇḍinya was aware of the southern face of the image of Mahādēva.

In the Pañcha-Brahmopanishad we are introduced to the visualised forms of the Sadyōjātādi Pañcha-Brahmas and their particular associations. Some of the attributes given to them are:

Sadyōjāta-svarūpam: represents *mahī* (earth), *pūshā* (sun), *ramā* (lakshmī), *Brahmā,* Rigvēda, *gārhapatyaṁ;* colour is *pītaṁ;* sakti is *kriyā.*

Aghōra-svarūpaṁ: Represents *dakshiṇāgni,* is of 50 colours,

Vāmadēva-svarūpaṁ: of white colour, capable of imparting knowledge, pleasing (*prasannaṁ*), represents Samavēda; bestower of success and prosperity to humans.

Tatpurusha-svarūpam: representing Vāyu (air), of red colour, called *Turīya-brahman,* worshipped by Brahmā and Vishṇu, father, creator of all.

Īśāna -svarupam: represents *ākāśa* (ether) and combines in himself the *pañcha-brahmas.*

But even from this abstruce philosophy or esoterism underlying the *mantras* the iconographic representation of the five faces of the *Mukhalinga* does not emerge clearly.

In this connection it is of exceeding interest to note that the famous temple of Mallikārjuna-Śiva on the Śrīśailam peak on the Nallamalai hills, Kurnool District, is stated to represent Īśāna who, according to the accepted descriptions is believed to be facing the sky. This hill has four approaches or gateways (*dvāras*) from where people from the surrounding plain country reach the top. The approaches are situated at the four cardinal directions. They are situated at Tripurāntakam (on the east), Markapur taluk, Kurnool district; Siddhavattam (on the south), Cuddapah district; Alampuram (on the west), Mahabubnagar district, and Mahesvaram (on the north), Mahbubnagar district, the presiding deities of which are Tripurāntakēśvara, Siddhēśvara, Brahmēśvara and Umā-Mahēśvara. In the Vīraśaiva literature of the Telugu country,[20] they are described further as representing the four faces of the God Īśāna on Srisailam hill in the following order: Tatpurushi face by Tripurāntakeśvara, Aghōra by Siddhēśvara, the Sadyōjāta by Brahmēśvara and the Vāmadēva by Umā-Mahēśvara. The significance of all this is that the entire region bounded by the aforesaid four Śivasthānas with that of Mallikārjuna (Īśāna) at the apex of the hill are likened to a *Pañchamukha-liṅga* of Sadāśiva.

There is a very curious, rather vulgar, explanation of the origin of the four faces of Śiva or Sthāṇu given in the *Mahābhārata*. It is stated that Śiva-Sthāṇu or Mahādēva became four faced while trying to behold the fair *apsarasa* Tilōttamā. This happened in the following way: When Tilōttamā was created by Brahmā with the object of putting an end to the brothers Sunda and Upasunda, she was of exceeding beauty. When she was circumambulating the celestial gods including Sthāṇu, i.e., the fixed figure of Śiva, before taking leave of them, Sthāṇu was so much attracted by her beauty that he created for himself a face on each cardinal direction in order to continuously behold Tilōttamā as she was circumambulating Him.[21]

---

[20] *Paṇḍitārādhya-Charitramu* (ed. C. Narayana Rao), p. 283.

[21] *Mahābhārata: Ādiparva, Adhyāya* 23, vv. 25ff. H. D. Sankalia: Iconographical elements in *Ādiparva* of *Mahābhārata*, in Bull. Dec. Coll. Res. Inst., Vol. V, p. 152.

The Trimurti Sculptures and their Relation to the Chaturmukha- or Pañchamukha-liṅgas

Leaving out of consideration such *Trimūrtis* as clearly depict the three divinities Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, those icons of *Trimūrti* made up of entirely of Śaiva features, may be examined to ascertain if any connection can be drawn between them and the *Mukha-liṅgas.*

As early as 1920, Havell raised the problem whether a three-headed image (*Trimūrti*) can present the five-headed god, i.e., *Pañchamukha-Liṅga* or Mahā-Sadāśiva, that is, whether the esoterism of the *Trimūrti* has anything in common with that of the *Pañchamukha-Liṅga* or the *Sadāśiva-Mūrti.* The Trimurtis that have so far been examined in this connection, particularly those from Elephanta, Ellora and Chitorgadh, are not sculptured in the round but are carvings in high relief and in none of them is there any indication that they form a partial view of what was intended to be a cylindrical *liṅga* but which could not be so sculptured when abutting the flat and plain walls behind. So it is best to consider the *Trimūrti* image as a unit by itself, as another composite aspect of Śiva. That the divinities Brahmā and Vishṇu do not form part of such *Trimūrti* image is brought out very clearly not only by the Chitorgadh *Trimūrti,* but also by the *Trimūrti* figures carved in niches of the later day temples, e.g., Mukhaliṅgam, and Bhubhaneswar wherein it is found that all the three faces have three eyes (Photograph XXII and XXIII), a feature which is ruled out in respect of Vishṇu and Brahmā. Dr. J. N. Banerjea's objections to the identification of the *Trimūrti* of Elephanta as Tatpurusha-Mahādēva flanked by Aghōra and Vāmadēva are quite convincing and valid not only on the grounds adduced by him but on a few others too. Principally, the objection is to the identification of the frontal face as that of Tatpurusha-Mahādēva since the Elephanta sculpture faces the north and if we go by the textual authorities regarding the orientation of the *mukhas,* it is the Vāmadēva that should face the north and not Tatpurusha. So, to consider the frontal face of the Elephanta *Trimurti* as Tatpurusha is evidently objectionable. As a corollary, the fierce aspect of Mahādēva flanking the Elephanta image and which is facing the east is also likewise ineligible to be considered as Aghōra who is assigned the southern direction in the texts. Evidently the orientation and attributes to the Sadyōjāta, etc., faces of Sadāśiva, which form a composite aspect of Lord Paramēśvara, is not applicable to the *Trimūrti* figures. It is seen that the fierce aspect of Śiva flanks the left in some *Trimūrtis* and the right in others, of the frontal face. For example, the *Trimūrti* figures of Chitorgadh,[22] Ellora (Photograph XXIV) and Pathari (Photograph XXV) have the fierce face of Śiva on the proper left while those at Elephanta, Mukhaliṅgam and Bhubhaneswar the same aspect is on the proper right. One may raise a doubt whether the frontal image of the *Trimūrti* may not alternately represent Tatpurusha and Sadyōjāta if the fierce aspect, i.e., Aghōra, is on the proper right or on the proper left. But in such an event the orientation of the main frontal image should be east in the case of Tatpurusha and west in case of Sadyōjāta. But this does not obtain in the known instances. Further in the Mukhaliṅgam, Bhubhanēśvar and Chitorgadh Trimūrtis all the faces have three eyes, and if they are to be interpreted as Aghōra, etc., the face on the proper left who is to be considered as Vāmadēva has to be given three eyes against the injunctions of the texts that he has two eyes only. Hence the *Trimūrti* concept is to be explained and understood as a completely different composite form of Śiva which may or may not have any derivation from the *Chaturmukha* or *Pañchamukha-Liṅgas* or *Mahā-Sadāśiva* images.[23] The five aspects of Śiva termed Sadyōjāta, etc., are to be understood and explained in the *liṅga* form or in the *Mahā-Sadāśiva* form of which the *liṅga* is the emblem *par excellence*. If in any representation only one *mukha* is shown as in the *Ekamukha-liṅgas* we are to understand that worship was offered to one of the five aspects of Śiva to which some particular signficance was attached at the place. In such images the physiognomy of the *Ēkamukha* is to be studied to determine which of the five aspects the respective *Ēkamukha-liṅgas* represented. Thus, the Bhumara and the Khoh *Ēkamukha-liṅgas* (Photographs XXVI and XXVII) may be understood as a representation of the *Sadyōjāta* form of Śiva on the basis of the distinguishing emblem of the crescent worn on the *jaṭāmakuṭa*. In regard to the Khoh *Ēkamukha-liṅga*, the bust of Śiva is specifically stated to be on its western side[24] and hence there need be

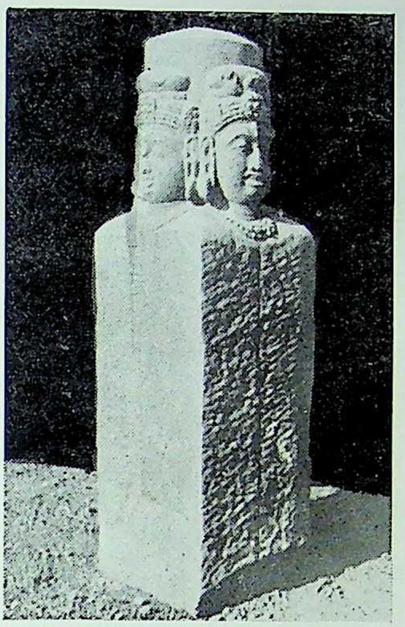
---

[22] T. A. G. Rao, *Elements*, Vol. II, page 285 and plate.

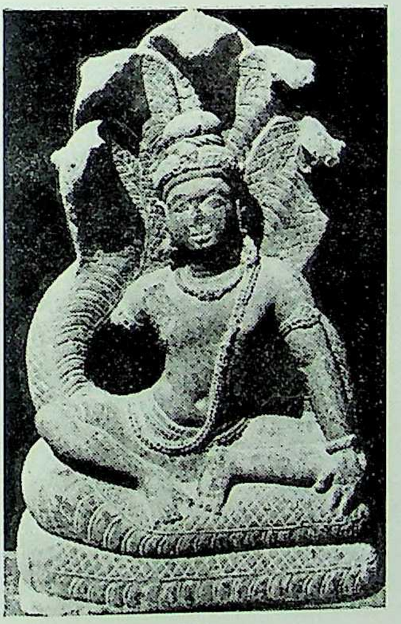
[23] Natesa Aiyar: *A Trimurti image from Peshawar Museum*, Ann. Rep. A.S.I., 1913-14, p. 278 n. 2).

[24] P.R.A.S.I., W.C., 1920, p. 106.

PLATE I

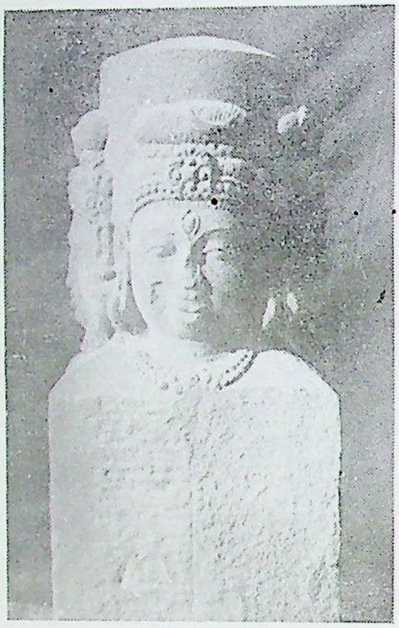


I
Chaturmukha-Linga from Sirpur, Raipur District

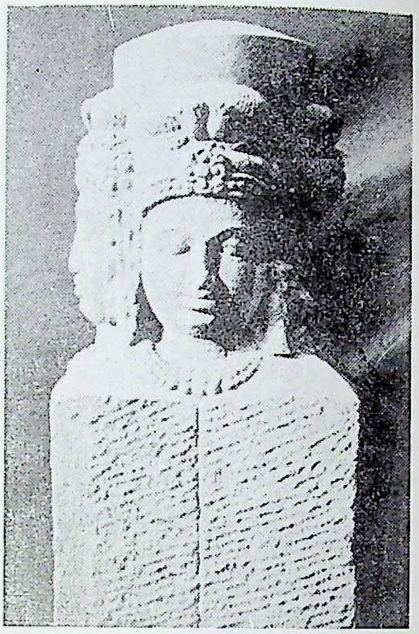


VI
Image of Vaikuntha-Narayana (popularly called Lakshman)
in the Lakshman temple at Sirpur, Raipur district.

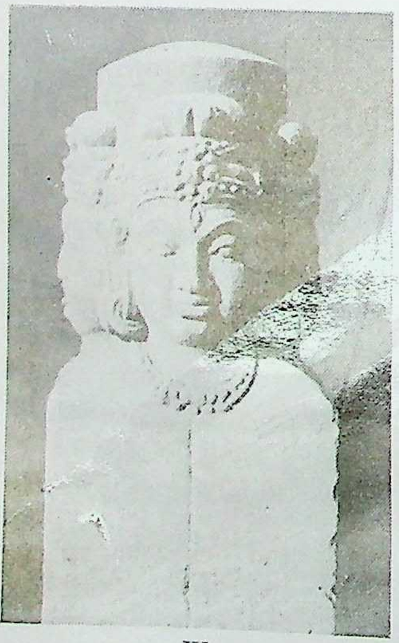
PLATE II



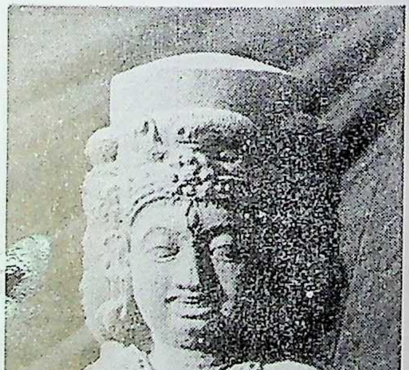
II
Chaturmukha-Linga from Sirpur, Raipur District—Sadyojata face.



III
Chaturmukha-Linga from Sirpur, Raipur District—Vamadeva face.

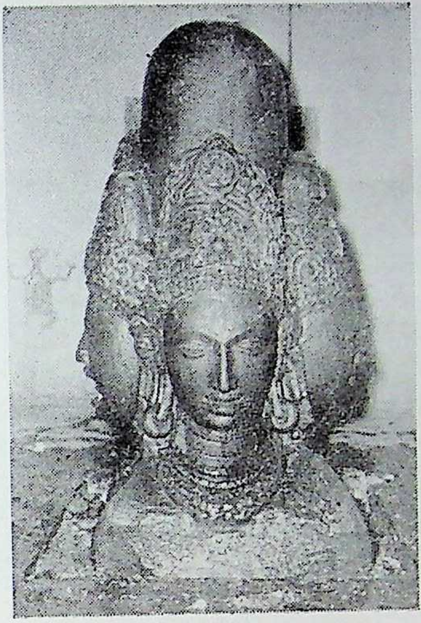


IV
Chaturmukha-Linga from Sirpur, Raipur District—Tatpurusha face.



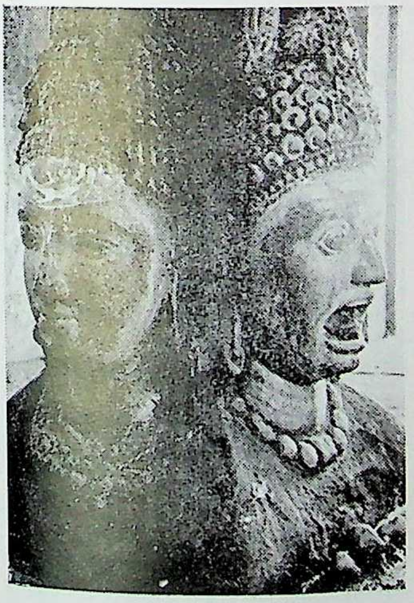
V
Chaturmukha-Linga from Sirpur, Raipur District—Aghora face.

PLATE III



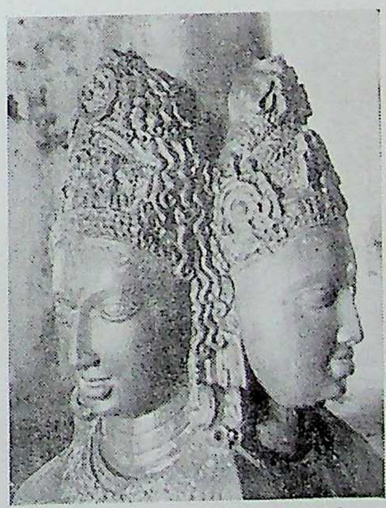
VII

Chaturmukha-Linga from Nachna-Kuthera—Front view—Aghora, Tatpurusha and Vamadeva faces.



VIII

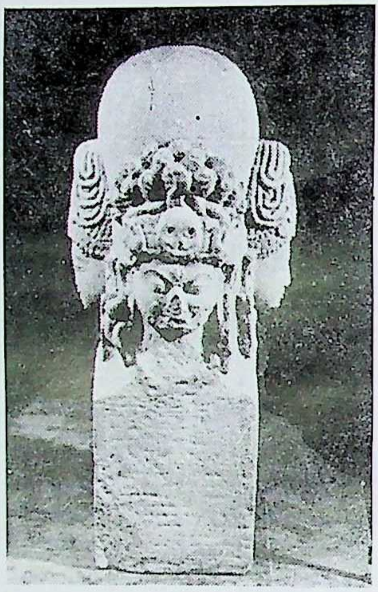
Chaturmukha-Linga from Nachna-Kuthera, Sadyojata and Aghora faces.



IX

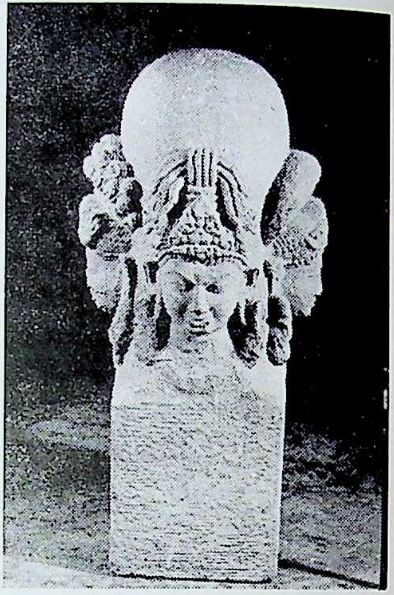
Chaturmukha-Linga from Nachna-Kuthera, Tatpurusha and Vamadeva faces.

PLATE IV



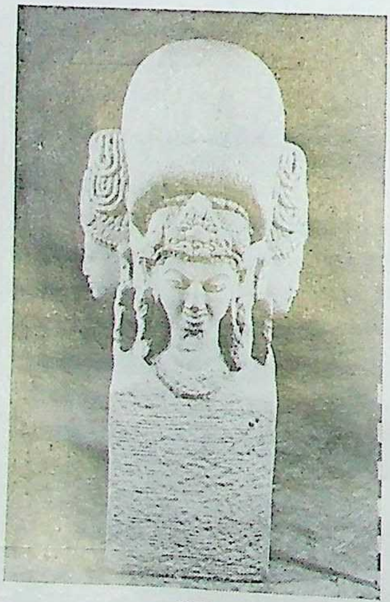
X

Chaturmukha-Linga from Kanouj—
Aghora face in front.



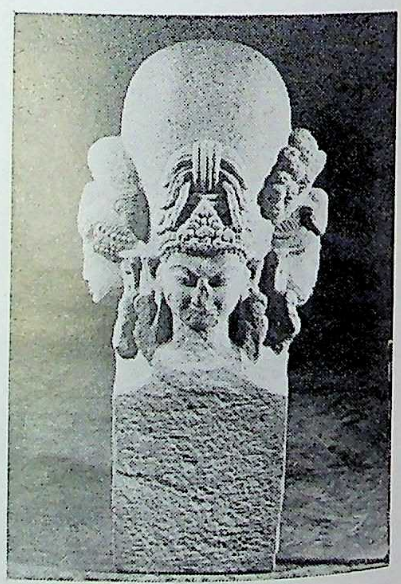
XI

Chaturmukha-Linga from Kanouj—
Tatpurusha face in front.



XII

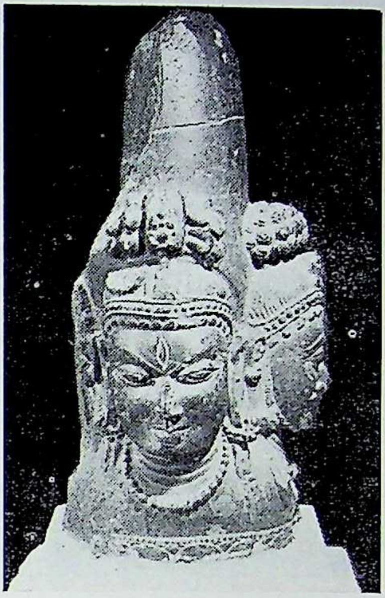
Chaturmukha-Linga from Kanouj—
Vamadeva face in front.



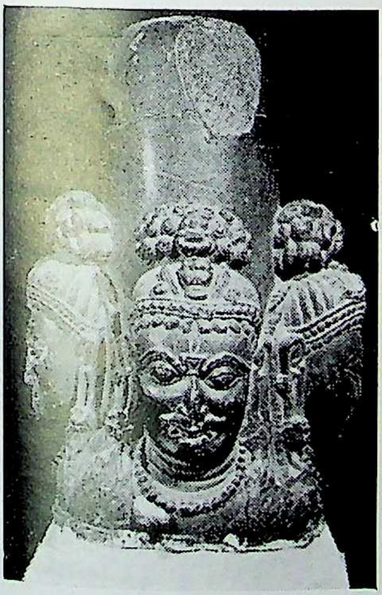
XIII

Chaturmukha-Linga from Kanouj—
Sadyojata face in front.

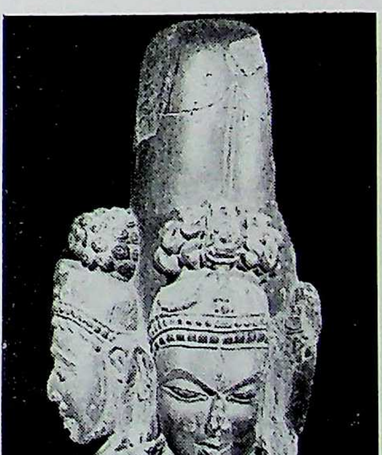
PLATE V



XIV
Chaturmukha-Linga, Indian Museum,
Calcutta—Sadyojata face in front.

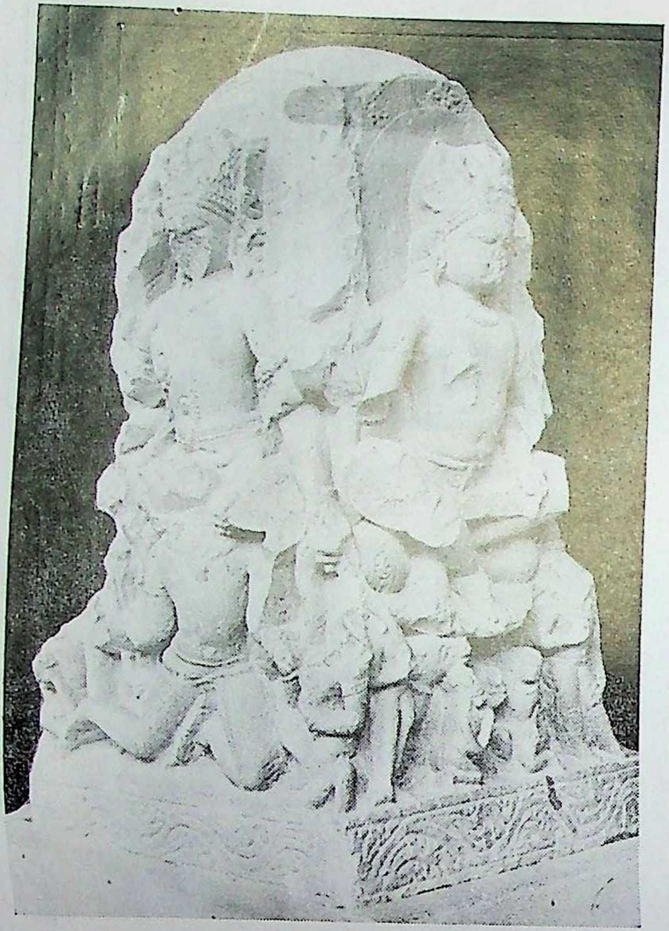


XV
Chaturmukha-Linga, Indian Museum,
Calcutta—Aghora face in front.

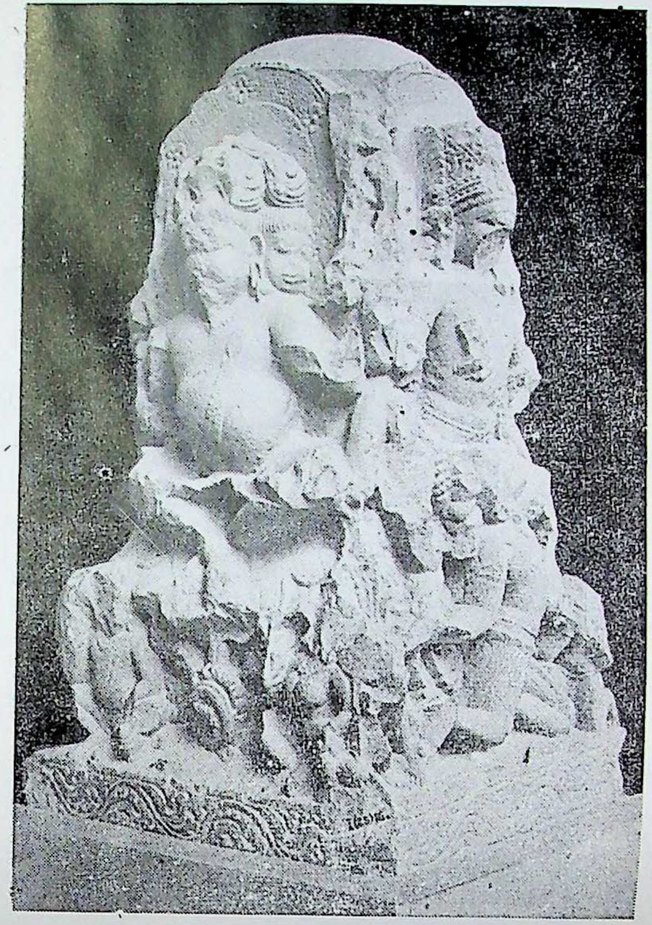


XVI
Chaturmukha-Linga, Indian Museum,
Calcutta—Tatpurusha face in front.

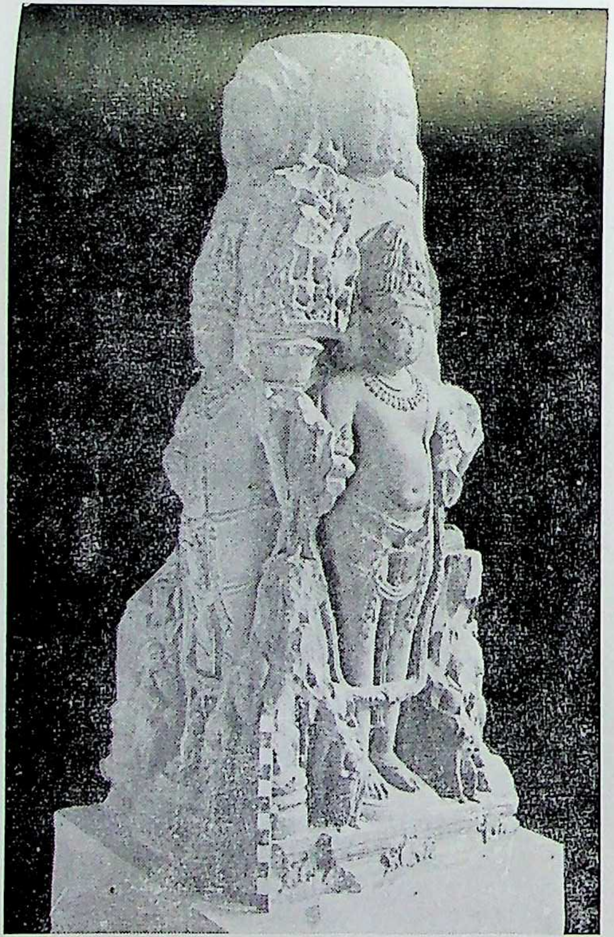
PLATE VI



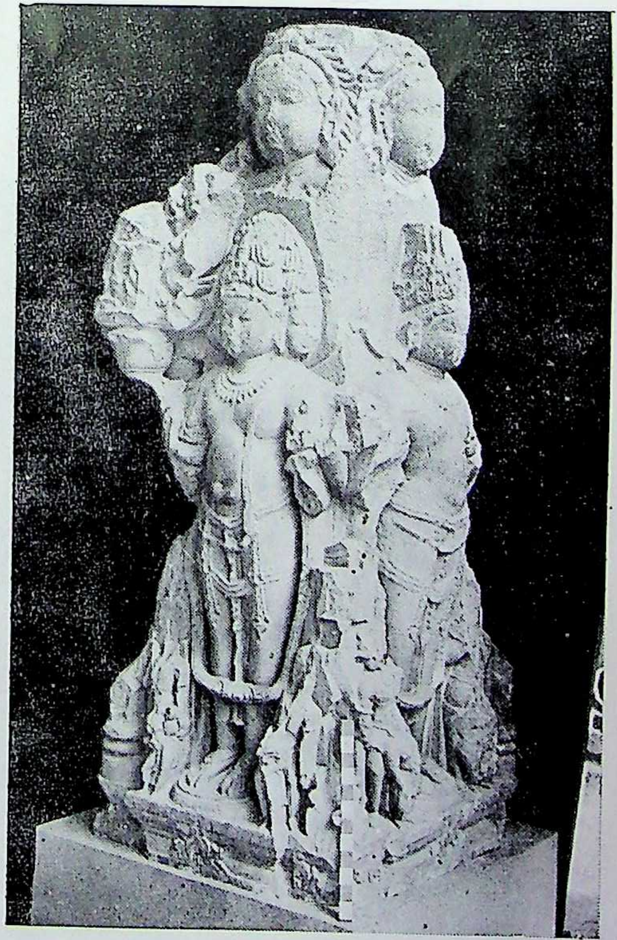
XVII
Chaturmukha-Linga (No. 1) from Kaman, Bharatpur



XVIII
Chaturmukha-Linga (No. I) from Kaman, Bharatpur

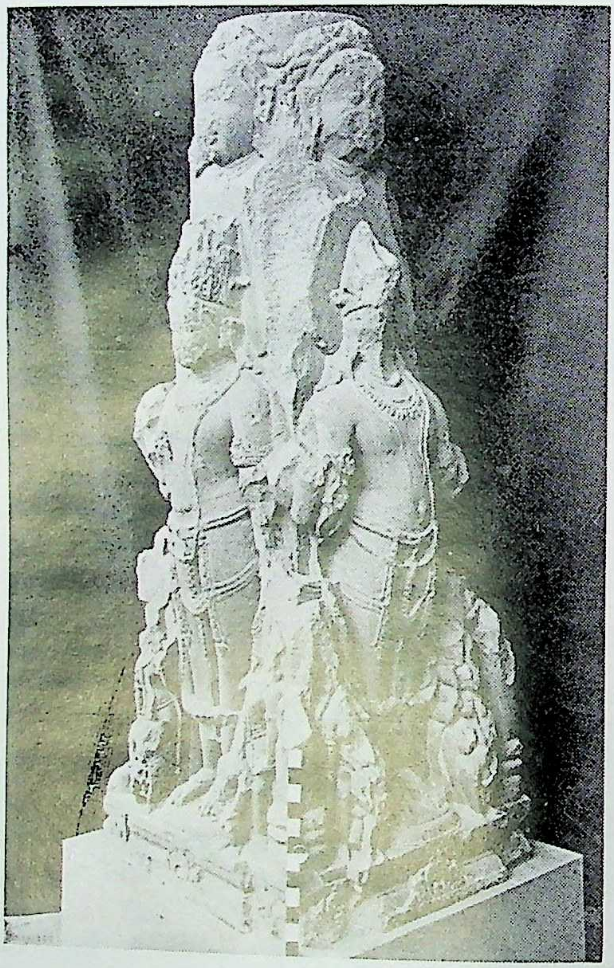


XIX
Chaturmukha-Linga (No. II) from Kaman, Bharatpur State—Siva and Brahma faces.



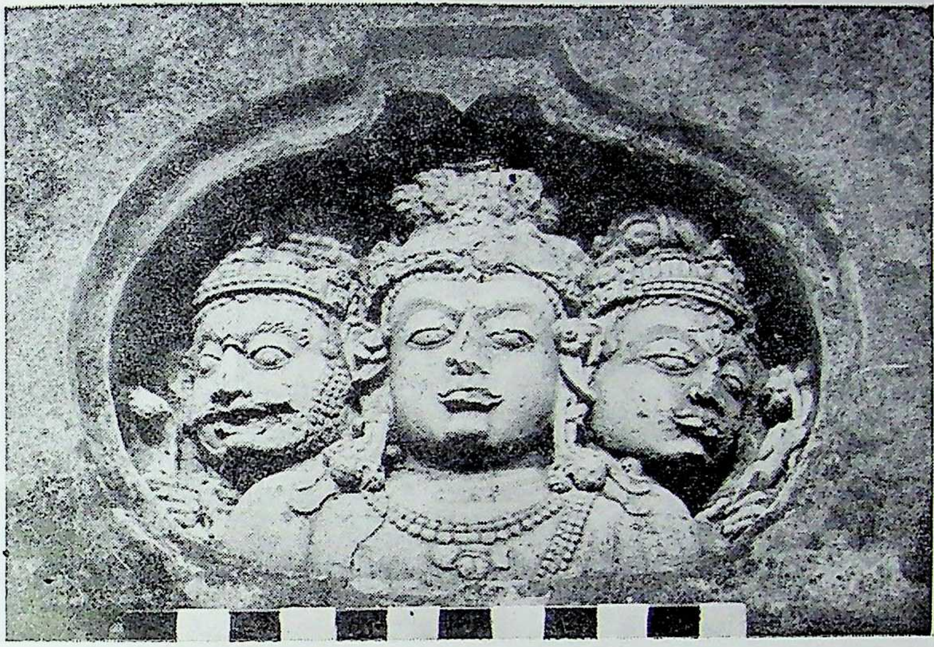
XX
Chaturmukha-Linga (No. II) from Kaman, Bharatpur. State—Brahma and Vishnu faces.

PLATE VIII

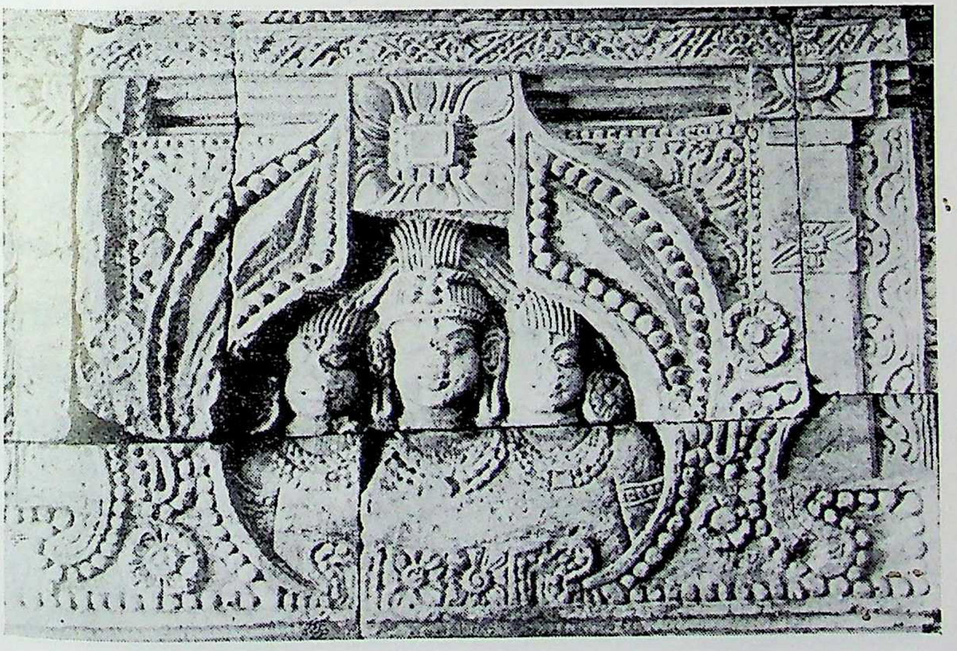


XXI
Chaturmukha-Linga (No. II) from Kaman, Bharatpur State—Vishnu and Surya faces.

PLATE IX

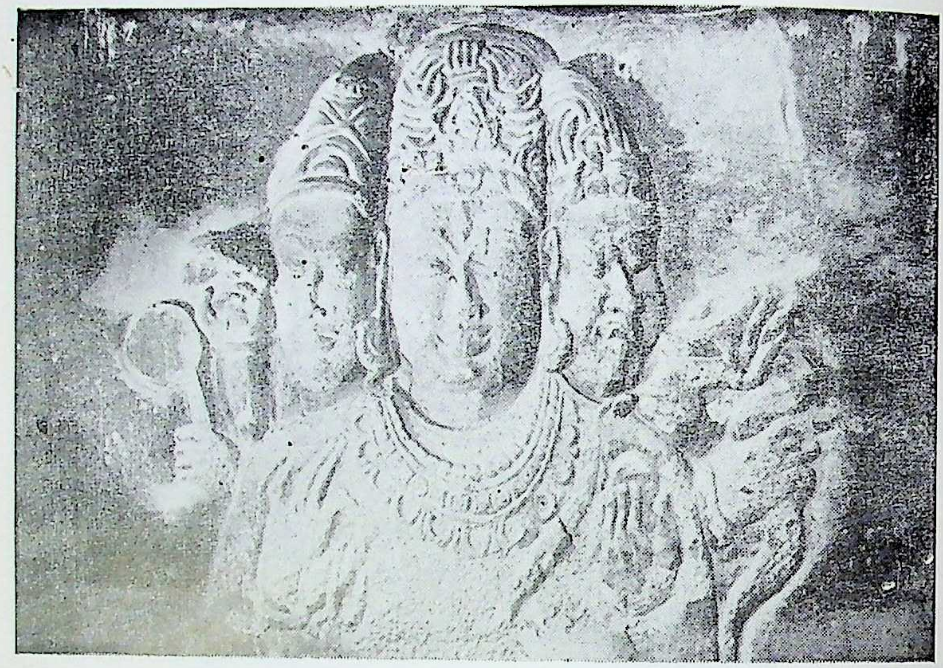


XXII
Trimurti from Mukhalingesvara temple, Mukhalingam.

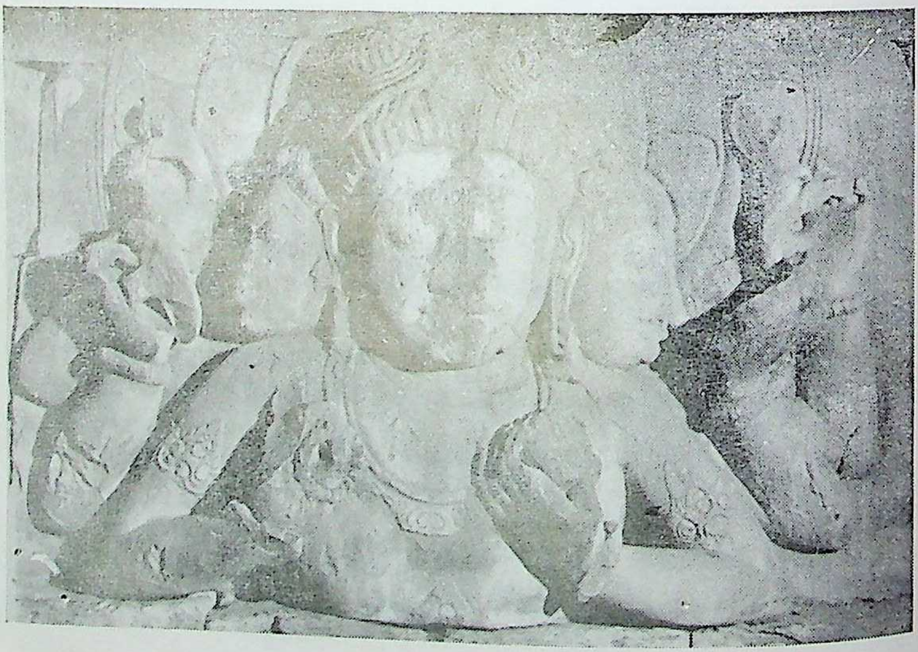


XXIII
Trimurti from Parasuramesvara temple, Bhubhanesvar.

PLATE X

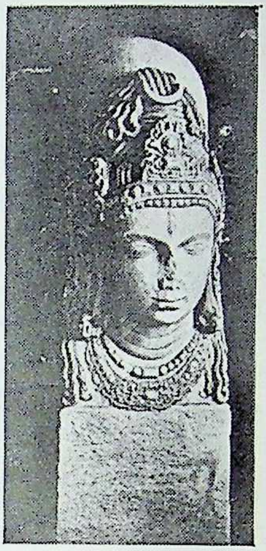


XXIV
Trimurti from Ellora.

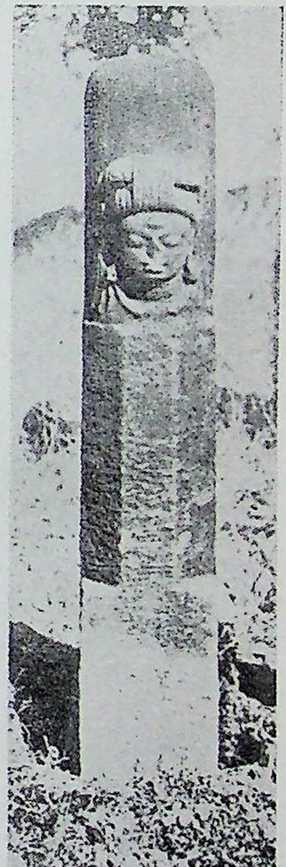


XXV
Trimurti from Pathari.

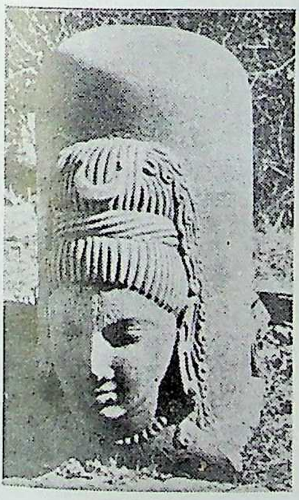
PLATE XI



XXVI
Ekamukha-Linga image
from Bhumara.

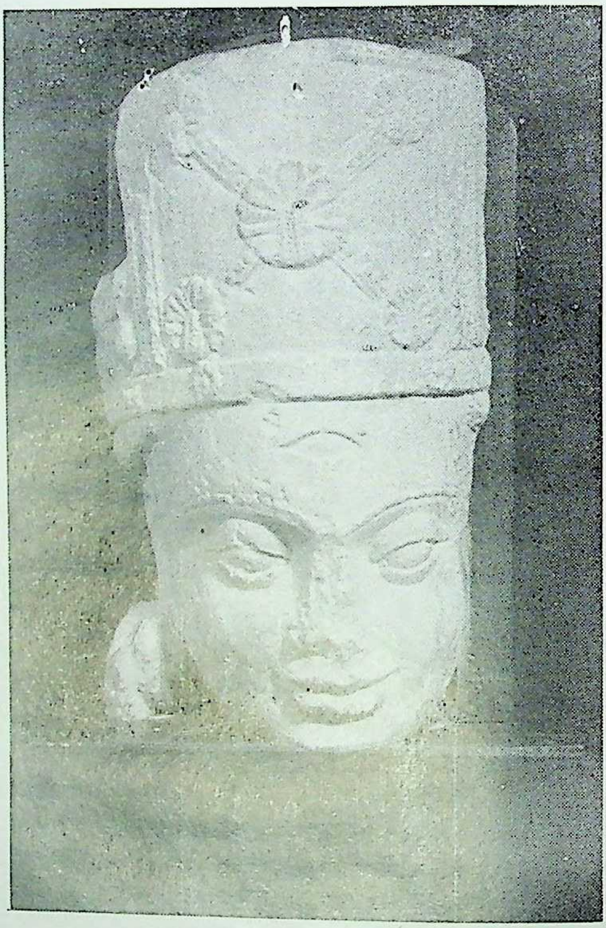


XXVIII
Ekamukha-Linga image
from Sankargadh.



XXVII
Ekamukha-Linga image
from Khoh.

PLATE XII



XXIX
Head of Indra, miscalled Vishnu, preserved in Mathura Museum.

no doubt to identify the image as that of Sadyōjāta. But this determination in respect of the other from Bhumara is subject to the orientation of the *mukha* which should face west but of which we have no knowledge at present.[25] The Sankargadh *Ēkamukha-liṅga* (Photograph XXVIII) does not show any typical feature enabling us to identify its aspect except what we may derive from its peculiar feature, the horizontally placed third eye. It is known that Indra is portrayed with a horizontal third eye (Photograph XXIX)[26] and as Indra is the Lord of the East, our present *Ēkamukha* image may be hypothetically associated with the eastern face of Śiva, i.e., Tatpurusha, subject to the supposition that it faced east in its original set up.

---

[25] Mem. A.S.I. No. 16, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, p. 5 and pl. XVC.

[26] This sculpture of which the head only is preserved in the Mathura Museum has been assigned to the late Gupta period and understood to be that of Vishṇu. But the horizontal third eye determines its identification as that of Indra. The *kirīta-makuṭa* is characteristic of both Indra and Vishṇu (Upēndra) as is well known.

Varahamihira: *Bṛhatsamhita*, ch. 57, v. 42 quoted by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1956), p. 523; K. N. Dikshit, Paharpur, p. 46, pl. XXVII d.

Antecedents of The Jagirdars of Ambapani under Bhopal State and their Declaration of 'Jihad' During the Mutiny

BY

Iqbal Kaul

With due regards to the national sentiments of our country-men in the 20th century, it will not be out of place to quote the sentiments of the 19th century Bhopal, when self-preservaion was the supreme law in the dictionary of political philosophy:

"The servants of Bhopal State maintained to the utmost extent a hearty and active obedience to the English Government", during the Mutiny of 1857-58, "and earned praise and approbation for the good service they performed, while any man who showed disaffection met with prompt punishment". Regarding the services rendered by the then Regent-Ruler Sikander Begum,[1] needless it is to mention that "Throughout this period (of mutiny) no chief in the length and breadth of India proved more staunch an ally than Sikandar Begum".[2]

The Jagir of Ambapani was situated between Sagar and Bhopal (now dwindled and locally known by the name of Amba-Khoh). It was granted by Dost Muhammad Khan, the Founder of Bhopal State, to his cousin Khizzer Muhammad Khan, whom he had also given his daughter in marriage.[3] Sarfaraz Muhammad Khan (alias Kuli Khan), the son of Khizzar Muhammad Khan had assisted Najat Muhammad Khan in a conspiracy[4] to murder Hayat Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Bhopal. The tragic end of Naja Muhammad made Kuli Khan to run away to his Jagir at Ambapani. Then in the year 1798, when Nawab Hayat Muhammad Khan had become tired of the oppressive administration of his Diwan Murid Muhammad Khan, this Lord of Ambapani was invited with an offer of Ministership of the State.[5] Wazir Muhammad Khan, who had also heard of the deplorable condition and anti-homeland activities of the Diwan had marched to assist the Nawab.[6] Murid Muhammad Khan, simply to fulfill his vicious desire and to face the opposition invited Bala Rao Ingle,[7] the Subadar of Sirong then under Scindia's possession. In the battle that ensued at Govindpur[8] the fate of Murid Muhammad was decided and ultimately Wazir Muhammad Khan was declared the Diwan of the State. Kuli Khan, being dejected had to retire, once more, to his Jagir.[9]

---

[1] Taj-ul-Iqbal-Tarikh-i-Bhopal: (hereafter as TI). By H. H. The Nawab Shahjehan, Begum of Bhopal; trans. by H. C. Barstow; Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co. 1876, p. 65.

[2] Bhopal State Gazetteer (hereafter as BSG) p. 31.

[3] Foreign Consultation File No. 35, June 17, 1848; National Archives of India. New Delhi: A Letter from R. N. C. Hamilton, Resident, Indore to H. M. Elliott Secy. Govt. of India, Foreign Department, dated the 27th May, 1848.

[4] *TI.*, pp. 16-17, *BSG* p. 17.

Nawab Hayat Muhammad Khan died in 1808 A.D. He was formally succeeded by his son Ghaus Muhammad Khan to the titular sovereignty of Bhopal. As the facts of the circumstances reveal, Wazir Muhammad Khan was holding the de facto authority in the State. He being, therefore, aware of the turbulent attitude of the Lord of Ambapani, "caused Gohar Muhammad Khan to be put under restraint, and appointed Wajid Muhammad Khan to Ambapani in his stead, and informed Kuli Khan (who must be an ousted fellow in the Jagir) that he had deprived Gohur Muhammad Khan for disaffection, and given Kuli Khan's son his father's place".[10] Thus before the Great Siege of Bhopal (1812-13) Wajid Muhammad Khan was holding the Jagir of Ambapani. Many political changes of significance came in Bhopal since then.

Wazir Muhammad Khan died in 1816. His second son, Nazar Muhammad Khan's accidental death occurred in November, 1819. Hardly 20 months back Nawab Nazar Muhammad Khan had entered into an alliance of perpetual friendship with the East India Company's Government. So after his death, Munir Muhammad (nephew of the late Nawab) was adopted, formally betrothed to

---

[5] *TI.*, p. 22, *BSG.*, p. 20.
[6] *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*
[7] *BSG.*, p. 20, *TI.*, p. 22.
[8] *TI.*, p. 23.
[9] *TI.*, p. 24.
[10] *TI.*, p. 30.

Sikandar Beebee (then a child of hardly 14 months) and installed on the masnad.

Wajid Muhamad Khan after some time of his being declared the lord of Ambapani, built a small fortress there.[11] He was a man of violent nature and oppressive character. His inclination towards immoral activities soon made him notorious, which resulted in many henious crimes. His treasonous disregard to the authority at Bhopal subsequently attracted the attention of the Regent, Begum Qudsia and the Minister Kurrum Muhammad Khan. Consequently, his Jagir was confiscated. In the eighteen-hundred and twenties when the question of Sikandar Beebee's marriage with Munir Muhammad Khan was on the political anvil, Wajid Muhammad Khan objected to this marriage on the ground that Munir Muhammad Khan, being already betrothed to his daughter,[12] he argued that, it would bring disgrace to his family. "On their failing by other means seems to secure this assent they were induced to offer to him the restoration of his old jageer on condition of his foregoing his daughter's claims upon Mooneer Muhammad Khan. With this he compiled and received back Ambapani."[13]

But as the political circumstances forced, Munir Muhammad Khan had to abdicate in favour of his younger brother Jehangeer Mhhammad Khan, who was betrothed to Sikandar Beebee. The declaration of his voluntary abdication[14] on February 14, 1828, solved the knotty problem of succession, atleast for the time being.

Wajid Muhamad Khan, again the lord of Ambapuni, being unable by nature to remain a loyal subject of Bhopal State, started with his old dis-regardful activities and insolent behaviour towards his overlord. Consequently, in 1831, the Regent Qudsia Begum with the concurrence of the British authorities, mobilised State troops against Ambapani with a definite intention of attaching the estate. The fort was accordingly besieged and after six month's resistance Wajid Muhammad surrendered.[15] His jagir was sequestered. In this state of pennilessness and destitution he continued until the hostilities between the young Jehangeer and his mother-in-law commenced. Taking full advantage of the confusion, he espoused the cause of the young Nawab. After the battle of Ashta (June 23, 1837), Wajid Muhammad Khan entirely attached himself to the Nawab's party. As a reward he received an assignment for his maintenance, which he enjoyed till his death in 1838.[16]

---

[11] Foreign Consultation File No. 35, June 17, 1848. Letter of 27th May, 1848 from Hamilton to Elliott, para 3.

[12] Foreign Department Political Consultation File No. 44, August 13, 1832.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Foreign Department Political Consultation File No. 52, March 21, 1828 para. 27.

After his death, his two sons Fazil Muhamad Khan and Adil Muhammad Khan urged their lawful claims on the Nawab for the restoration of Ambapani. But only pecuniary allowance was continued and regarding the jagir, nothing more than high-hopes for its restoration were held out. As such they had to live contented on the money allowances from Bhopal State, till the disturbances broke out in the Saugor and Narbada territory.[17] In a vain hope of getting some permanent employment under the British Government, "they exerted themselves in raising levies to aid the British authorities in the preservation of tranquillity on the frontier."[18] Their services were commended and appreciated by the British officers but they were not given any employment which made them all the more worried and exhausted because the allowance from the Nawab of Bhopal was not regularly paid to them. Under such depressed condition they continued till 1843, when one day Adil Muhammad Khan, who was more daring, bold and couragious, repaired in person to Bhopal and endeavoured to recover his ancestral jagir. But he could only receive "some temporary pecuniary assistance, when from some supposed remark of the Nawab's he suddenly quitted Bhopal and made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the Fort of Ambapanee".[19] Fazil Muhammad Khan was no party to this ambitious plan of his younger brother.[20]

---

[15] Foreign Department Political Consultation File No. 44, August 13 1832, para. 2.

[16] Foreign Consultation File No. 35, June 17, 1848: Letter dated 27th May, 1848, from Hamilton to Elliott, para. 4.

[17] *Ibid.*, para. 6.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*, para. 7.

[20] *Ibid.*, para. 8.

Being unsuccessful, Adil Muhammad Khan took the profession of a predatory adventurer and soon after news of his nefarious activities were pored in at the Sehore office of the British Political Agent in Bhopal. In a letter,[21] dated the 18th September, 1843 to his Vakil Mirza Amjud Beg, the Nawab of Jaora informed that Fazil Muhammad Khan and Adil Muhammed Khan, the marauders, have joined the rebel jagirdars of Chirgaon and Jaitpur, and further desired the news to be conveyed to the Political Agent in Bhopal. As a precautionary measure, the Nawab of Jaora had despatched Risaldar Asghur Husain towards Sewas[22] (modern Begumgunj in Bhopal State).

Report of the same purport was also communicated by the Nawab of Bhopal to Captain Trevelyan, Political Agent.[23] The Bhopal Nawab was seriously alarmed for the fate of the ryots inhabiting the frontier villages, who were likely to suffer at the hands of the marauders. Naturally therefore, he sought assistance from the British Government. The Nawab was anxious for British assistance because the foreigners (rebel Bundela Thakurs of Chirgaon and Jaitpur) had joined these rebels, in their felonious activities on Bhopal frontier.[24] During the same period Sir R. Shakespeare, Deputy Commissioner, Saugor had informed the Kurwai Chief that "Adil Mahomed Khan and his band would probably pass through the Chapraighat in the Koorwaee territory".[25] So as a precautionary measure and in anticipation of the consent of the Resident, the Political Agent detached a portion of the Bhopal Contingent to support the Bhopal State troops to protect its territory.[26] Lt.-Col. Wade, Resident, Indore, in his reply on the 21st September, 1843 to the Political Agent, authorised him to check the progress of the marauders, and further desired him to instruct Capt. Landers (in charge of Bhopal Contingent) to proceed towards Kurwai in person and "to act as circumstances may suggest for the protection of the .country."[27] Having made these arrangements for the rebellious subjects of Bhopal, the Resident intimated the whole affairs to J. Thomson, Secretary to the Government of India.[28]

---

[21] Foreign Consultation File No. 119, October 7, 1843. A Letter of the 18th September, 1842, from the Nawab of Jaora to his Vakeel Mirza Amjud Beg.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Foreign Consultation File No. 118, October 7, 1843. A Letter from Capt. H. W. Trevelyan, Pol. Ag. in Bhopal, to Lt.-Col. Sir C. M. Wade, Resident at Indore, dated the 19th September, 1843.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

Further documents reveal that in September, 1843, Adil Muhammad Khan was busy in preparing for a foray upon Bhopal territory. To achieve this aim he wanted help from the Bundela rebels with whom he discussed the matter in the Chanderi district.[29] But they urged that he should first assist them in attacking the Saugor district, then they would help him in salling Bhopal.[30] Consequently there was every fear that Adil Muhammad Khan might attack Bhopal during the forthcoming Deshera festival.[31] But the Bundela rebels and Adil Muhammad Khan could not come to any amicable settlement. Moreover, Fazil Muhammad Khan also withdrew his support to his younger brother in the project.[32] At this time when the tide of events was unfavourable, Adil Muhammad Khan's Willayatees demanded their arrears for which their leader had to pawn some of his clothes and animals.[33] Under such state of affairs Adil Muhammad Khan became less formidable and in the mean time Peeklone and Sewas Parganas were protected, and the principal Ghats in Kurwai territory were also guarded by the Kurwai troops.[34]

Having thus failed in his project to attack Bhopal territory, Adil Muhammad Khan made an unsuccessful attempt to ravage

---

[27] Foreign Consultation File No. 120, October 7, 1843. Letter from Wade, Resident Indore, to Trevelyan, Pol. Ag. dated Sept. 21, 1843.

[28] Foreign Consultation File No. 117, Oct. 7, 1843, Letter from Resident Indore to J. Thomson, Secy. to the Govt. of India, dated the 22nd Sept., 1843.

[29] Foreign Consultation File No. 66, Nov. 18, 1843. A Letter from R. Shakespeare, Dy. Commissioner, Saugor, to Trevelyan, Sehore, dated 28th Sept. 1843.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Foreign Consultation File No. 64, Nov. 18, 1843. A letter from Trevelyan, Pol. Ag. to Wade, Resident, Indore, dated Oct. 21, 1843.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

Bamora,[35] a village in Kurwai, on the 19th October, 1843. His 15 men were taken prisoner who submitted their deposition. After being routed from Bamora, Adil Muhammad took the direction of Sagoni—Burkhera in Teonda pargana under the Scindia's possession.[36] There he joined Juswant Singh Beldar and busied himself in enlisting men for further depredations.[37] But no further activity of Adil Muhammad was marked for some time by the Political Agent, who on the contrary, was anxious to adjust differences between Adil Muhammad and the Nawab of Bhopal.[38] The Government of Bhopal expressed that "if Adil Muhammad Khan will come to Bhopal and ask forgiveness for his recent misconduct he will be paradoned, and the stipend which was formally settled upon him and his brother Fazil Muhammad Khan will be again allowed for their maintenance."[39] Fazil Muhammad Khan, on the other hand, wanted to be placed in possession of the Fort and estate of Ambapani, the demand which the Government of Bhopal was disinclined to accede.[40]

Adil Muhammad Khan, on the 5th November, 1843, in conjunction with Juswant Singh Beldar and his 21 followers, made fresh depredations in the villages of Sewas pargana and carried away the Patel and his son as prisoners. He was therefore not in a submissive mood.[41] In the skirmish that followed in the vicinity of Meena village, between the Bhopal troops under Kaem Khan Commander, and Adil Muhammad Khan, the Patel and his son were released along with some portion of the plundered property.[42] Besides this the uncle of Juswant Singh and a sowar in Adil Muhammad's service were also taken prisoners.

In the third week of January 1844, the Political Agent in Bhopal pressed the matter of settlement upon the Nawab and his minister,[43] with the result that the Nawab gave seven thousand rupees to Fazil Muhammad Khan and Adil Muhammad Khan to clear off the arrears of their followers and thus extricate themselves from them.[44] The Nawab further expressed his intention of "eventually restoring the Gurhee of Ambapanee to the family of late Wajid Muhammad Khan, when Fazil Muhammad Khan, as an elder son, will be placed in possession of it with a portion of its dependent lands and villages."[45] But the Nawab could not fulfill his expressed intentions as he died on the 9th December, 1844, though his desire was communicated to Fazil Muhammad Khan by Capt. Trevelyan.[46] As the circumstances seemed favourable, Fazil Muhammad Khan brought his younger brother to Bhopal and remained in waiting at the Court of Sikandar Begum and Princess Shah Jehan.[47] On assuming Regency on the 4th January, 1847,[48] Sikandar Begum, with much deliberations and examinations of the whole case restored the whole Jagir to Fazil Muhammad Khan, with the condition of future behaviour.[49]

---

[35] Foreign Consultation File No. 185, Feb. 10, 1844. A Letter, dated the 26th Oct., 1843, from Trevelyan to Wade, Resident, Indore.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Foreign Consultation File No. 65, Nov. 18, 1843. A Letter dated the 28th Oct., 1843, from Wade, Resident Indore to Trevelyan, Pol. Ag. Bhopal.

[39] Foreign Consultation File No. 186, Feb., 1844. A Letter dated the 18th Nov., 1843, Camp Bhilsa, from Trevelyan to Wade, Indore.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Ibid.*

From that time till 1857, these brothers remained a loyal and devoted subjects of Bhopal State when the reverberations of the mutiny again gave them an open excess to their nefarious activities.

Having taken advantage of the confusion, Adil Muhammad Khan issued a declaration[50] to fifteen chiefs of India[51] in which he had invited then 'to promote the cause of religion and to murder the mischievous infidels'. Though it does not seem to have any reaction upon the chiefs under reference, yet Adil Muhammad Khan continued with his anti-Government activities. Soon after, he wrote a treasonable letter to the Regent Begum Sikandar which clearly throw light on[52] the real sentiments of the rebel. As a threat and warning to the Regent Begum, Adil Muhammad Khan declared that to intercept his activities would be 'contrary to the orders of the Almighty God and his Prophet' as his intention was not to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the State of Bhopal of which he was a loyal servant, but it simply aimed to expel the infidels 'from the whole of India'. He further categorically explained that 'Having waged a religious war we turned out Infidel Christians from Rahut Gurh and a Mahomedan flag is now waving over its Fort.' Many places were conquered by the 'Gazies' and that they were busy in 're-establishing the sovereignty of the king of Delhi'. He went even a step further and wrote: 'It reflects great credit to the Bhopal State, that we, that are closely connected with the State have embraced the cause of religion'. So on his own part he was acting as an 'orthodox Muhamedan', and under such circumstances, the rebel deplored the attitude of the Begum Sikandar for not supporting the cause of religion. But the Begum, true to the cause of the Paramount Power, replied that he was simply one of the 'dependent jageerdars of the Bhopal State without whose orders he was not expected to 'deviate a hair's breadth'. But the whims of the times were perhaps more potent than a meek warning. The rebel continued with his activities in the surrounding states and the districts of Bhopal.

---

[43] Foreign Consultation File No. 80, March 23, 1844; A Letter dated Feb. 1, 1844, from Trevelyan to Wade, Indore.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Foreign Consultation File No. 35, June 17, 1848; A Letter dated May 27, 1848, from R. N. C. Hamilton, Resident Indore to H. M. Elliott Secy. to Govt. of India, Foreign Department Fort William.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] Foreign Consultation File No. 67, Feb. 13, 1847, F & P Department. A Letter dated the 7th Jan., 1847 from Hamilton, Indore to Currie, Secy. to Govt. of India.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Secret Consultation File No. 272, Nov. 27, 1857 F & P. An Abstract translation of a proclamation issued by Adil Muhammad Khan, Jageerdar of Ambapane under Bhopal State, dated the 11th August 1857

[51] *Ibid*: Names on the margin are as follows:—Rewah, Nagode, Dutya Bijawur, Bijaypoor, Chirkharee, Sumthur, Chaturpore, Jaitpur, Jhansee Jaloun, Shahgurh, Oogein, Nagpore and Bhopal.

As the correspondence reveals, the activities of Adil Muhammad Khan had a very wide range. In the month of August, 1858 he was seen in Bhils district, where he plundered Hinotia village and took away 2 or 3 Mahajans as prisoners[53] Then he proceeded with 500 or 600 followers towards Sirong and encamped in Teelgaon village, about 4 miles from Sirong, and demanded 4000 rupees and two guns from the Amil.[54]

---

[52] Secret Consultation File No. 292, November 27, 1857, an Abstract of the Letter of Adil Muhammad Khan to the Regent of Bhopal.

[53] Foreign Consultation File No. 221, Oct. 15, 1858: Substance of Intelligence received from the Pol. Ag. in Bhopal, dated the 30th August, 1858.

Then in the early March of 1859 he was seen in the thick forest of Agra along with one rebel, Rao Saeh Sahib.[55] From there he made a rapid march and crossed Hoshangabad and Nursinghpur road at a distance of three miles east of Sohagpur on the morning of 18th April. He was proceeding perhaps towards Chindwara district.[56] But the Hoshangabad Military Police surprised the rebels under Adil Muhammad Khan on the 19th April, in the hills near Fatehpur, with a loss of ten and six wounded on the side of the rebel. Adil Muhammad escaped and changing his route he proceeded towards Puchmeri.[57] In an official memo No. 263 of 24th April, 1859, the Political Agent at Sehore reported that the rebel, after being defeated receded and with the intention of entering the Bhilsa territory turned towards north of Nerbada, on the 21st April.[58] While thus retreating through the Satwara jungles he met the Bhopal troops on the 29th April. In the skirmish that ensued, Adil Muhammad Khan suffered a loss of 26 men.[59] He then fled for his life and entered the district of Muhammadgurh, where another Jagirdar Deba Singh of Chowka (Bhopal) accompanied him. But soon after, Amanat Khan and Sarfaraz Khan were deserted by him at Goonpura, where from he proceeded towards Bundelkhand.[60]

---

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Foreign Consultation File No. 154, March 25, 1859. Telegram from Brigadier General Sir R. Napier, Bekhari near Agra, to Sir R. Hamilton, dated the 4th March, 1859.

[56] Foreign Consultation File No. 190, April 29, 1859: Postal copy of telegram No. 11 from George Plowden, Commissioner Nagpur, to Beadon, Secy. to Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., 20th April, 1859.

[57] Foreign Consultation File No. 191, April 29, 1859: Postal copy of telegram No. 12 from G. Plowden, Commissioner, Nagpur, to Beadon, Secy, to Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., dated the 22nd April, 1859.

[58] Foreign Consultation Foreign and Political Dept., File No. 263, May 13, 1859: Official Memo. No. 263, from Bhopal Pol. Ag. Seshore, dated th 24th April, 1859.

[59] Foreign Consultation Foreign and Political Dept. File No. 286, May 13, 1859: telegram from Plowden to Beadon, dated the 7th May, 1859.,

[60] Foreign Consultation Foreign and Pol. Dept. File No. 143, July 8, 1859. Memo of Intelligence Copy No. 496.

In the month of June 1859, Richmond Shakespeare, A.G.G. for Central India, directed Capt. A. R. C. Hutchinson, Political Agent in Bhopal, to offer terms to Adil Muhammad Khan and he allowed one month's period to come to Bhopal on money provision.[61] Fazil Muhammad Khan being dead was out of question.[62] His heir Akil Muhammad Khan, being a youth of 25 years, was then living at Sirong. For him the Political Agent was directed to induce the Begum of Bhopal to put Akil Muhammad in charge of his late father's estate at once.[63] On September 6, 1859, Abdul Rauf, the Persian writer of Adil Muhammad Khan surrendered on condition of Royal amnesty.[64] Shamut Ali, Native Assistant Agent to Governor General for Central India communicated that Adil Muhammad Khan's band had been dispersed and there was less likelihood of any further organised outrage on the part of the rebel.[65] It was further reported that Adil Muhammad Khan was killed by Bhopal troops, but the news was never confirmed.[66] Later on the fort of Ambapani was dismantled by Sikandar Begum.[67] Thus ended to mettlesome and dauntless career of the House of Ambapani, which never hesitated to serve its overlord with an alternative zeal of loyalty and treason.

---

[61] For Consultation File No. 150, July 22, 1859. Letter from Shakespeare, A. G.-G. for C.I. to Hutchinson, Bhopal, 9th July, 18

[62] *Ibid.*: *TI.* on page 65 says: Fazil Muhammad Khan shut himself up in the fort of Rahatgarh, refused admission to the English troops whom he resisted by force; he was captured alive and executed.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] F.C. File No. 143, Oct. 7, 1859. Letter from Shamut Ali to Shakespeare, A.G.-G. for C.I., dated Camp Seronge, Sept. 6, 1859.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] F.C. File No. 142, Oct. 7, 1859. Letter, dated the 20th Sept. 1859, from Shakespeare to Beadon, Secy. Govt. of India. *TI.* on page 65 says: Adil Muhammad Khan so entirely disappeared that he has never been since heard of.

[67] *TI.*, p. 215.

French Influence on South Indian Culture

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI, M.A., Ph.D.

The Greeks and Romans have visited our land in early times and have left here both records and remains of their stay. The Arikamedu finds put on the cards by the French savants working in Pondicherry speak to us eloquently about the Roman factory and commercial station once established here in the early centuries of the Christian era. It seems to be true, to some extent at least, that we owe our love of music, dramatic plays and linguistic developments to the Greeks. One writer tells us, "the Tamil arithmetical symbols seem however to bear a greater resemblance to the Roman than the Arabic numerals. Like the Romans the Tamils express the greater part of their arithmetical signs by the letters of the alphabet and use only a simple letter to denote units, tens, hundreds and thousands as stated above."[1]

Now after near by a thousand years the Europeans again came to the shores of our country and have remained with us for well nigh four hundred years. If the Graeco-Roman stay in South India had influenced her life and letters in no small measures[2] as well as her art and architecture the influence of the later day European contact must have been much greater indeed. It was in the year 1498 on the 17th of May that the Portuguese captain Vasco de Gama anchored off a small village 8 miles west of Calicut. That was, as future history revealed, an important day in our history, because that brought in its wake numerous waves of other European nations that entered into India. None of the Europeans was himself aware that he was going to India for anything else but trade. Beginning roughly from 1500 A.D. for nearly 300 years European contact with India was one oscilla-

---

1. Dubois; *Hindu Customs & Manners*, 429.
2. Arokiaswami; *Early Graeco-Roman Influences* (M.U.J., Centenary Number—Humanities Section).

ting between commerce and conquest until the English decided to conquer in 1799.

Till this date the oscillating pendulum never ceased and the French in particular were in great hesitation. It was a greater bar to their progress. During all this period fighters like La Bourdonnais, Commanders like De La Hey, diplomats like Bussy and Dupleix, rode the lenght and breadth of India trying to find an answer to this vexing problem—to rule or to go. The tantalisation was all the greater, since victory was often within their grasp. Visiting the historic fort at Gingi one does wonder at the achievement of these adventurous spirits. Any articles on the subject of French influence in India cannot fail to note the gate and the road still kept under the old name as Pondicherry gate, through which many a gallant French soldier must have passed in and out in times past. The modern towns of Pondicherry, Mahe, Chandranagore and Karaikal are even greater reminders of the French influence of which we are speaking here.

In the second quarter of the XVI century about 30 years after the entry of de Gama into South India, the first Frenchman appeared in the port of Diu. This information is from the Portuguese Jao de Barros, who speaks of certain merchants from Rouen in France on board a Norman ship anchoring at Diu in the month of July 1527. But, says the same writer, seeing the Portuguese firmly seated on the West coast of India, they left the country and sought to establish trading connections with the Moluccas and the Spice Islands. In 1648, however, the French traveller Tavernier landed in India, reaching by way of Ispahan. He studied the political, social and commercial conditions in India and soon established friendly relations with the reigning Moghul. It was by his influence that the great Financier of France, Colbert, proposed to Louis XIV the starting of a French Company trading with India. He induced the Academician, Francois Charpentier, to write out a code of instructions to the traders going into the new country and had it published at the King's expense. The code was carefully written and bore the grandiose title, "A Discourse of a faithful subject of the king touching the establishment of a French Company for the East India trade addressed to all Frenchmen". Colbert had emissaries sent out to the Shah of Persia and the Great Moghul by way of Aleppo. We find in 1664 a Frenchman named Beber interviewing Auragzeb who gives him a *farman* for establishing a trading station at Swally near Surat. Round 1670 Caron established stations on the West coast of India at Calicut. Cranganore and Cochin and in Masulipatam on the East coast. At about the same time De La Hey captured Santhome and held it for two years against the Dutch who had occupied it and the King of Golkonda to whom it belonged. In 1672 he had to yield but stangely enough as a reward for his bravery Sher Khan Lodi, the Governor made the grant of Pondicherry to the French who established themselves there on the 2nd of April 1673.

It is not necessary to go over the whole field of French history in India. It was all one of siege and countersiege, one act of diplomacy being set against another. Beginning from Shahji, the Maratha Rajah of Tanjore, to the Nawab of the Carnatic and later reaching Mysore and, the throne of Tipu Sultan the French wangled for permanency in India. Chanda Sahib was brought under French influence and Muzaffar Jung was set up as the Subedar of the Deccan, Dupleix personally investing him at Pondicherry. Raghuji Bhonsle was placated with a few bottles of "liquor of Nancy,", much appreciated by the wife of the Maratha General. In the midst of all this their guns also resounded at sveral places in South India—Madras, Cuddalore, Trichinopoly, Arcot, Gingi and Wandiwash during a period of nearly a hundred years. Between 1746 and 1748 they held possession of Madras.

The effect of all this on the cultural history of South India was, it is needless to say, very great. One finds to this day in Pondicherry a small French town set in Indian surroundings. It is wonderful how French occupation has influenced the culture of that place and its environs. The Brtish have no doubt made many of us dress and behave like them but what poor imitations we often present ourselves. Not so in Pondicherry. The use of French there by the natives is to be particularly noted. It is a language which falls less naturally on the tongue of the South Indian than English and yet the francised citizens of Pondicherry talk French almost as well as the French. All the fineness and nuances of French have been picked up by the Tamils in Pondicherry. One need not dilate on the French influence cast on the manners, food and drink of the Indians who live in the so-called "French possessions". It is no secret that in Pondicherry in a rich man's house wine flows like water. The French added joy and festive cheer to the life of the people here. They made them citizens of France of which these people feel very proud. The French conception of political equality was very realistic and they gave to their subjects what they enjoyed themselves.

It is said that Portuguese and the French both transformed their subjects into miniatures of themselves if not actual replicas. But even here the French have succeeded much better than the Portuguese. In the Portuguese possessions we have only the form and not the matter; in the French possessions we see both the form and the matter. The Portuguese never could make the Indians their counterpart while the French have succeeded in doing so. Hailing from a country from where went forth the spirit of equality the French could easily make their Indian subjects like them at many points. There are more South Indians in the French army and civil Service even to-day than there are under the Portuguese and many South Indians are still pursuing their studies in France in her various Collegiate institutions and Universities and often sent there with the help and money of the French government. The French pay their officiers more handsomely than perhaps any nation in Europe and that continues even in their pension schemes. This has helped in raising the standard of living in all the possessions of the French in South India more than we generally imagine.

II

Now an attempt may be made to evaluate the French influence on deeper and more permanent aspects of South Indian culture. What was the French influence on South Indian langauges? It is agreed on all hands that as linguists the French are second to none among all the nations of Europe. Even the Germans who are considered to be the great masters of Sanskrit curiously enough learnt the language from the French masters and the first Sanskrit grammar in a European language was first published in French and in Paris. The first Sanskrit Mss. to be collected in India by any European were the Pons collections made round the year 1739 in Chandranagore. Fr. Pons happens to be also the first Sanskrit grammarian in Latin. Fr. Calmette, another French Jesuit, collected many Sanskrit Mss. for the Library of Loui XIV (1740). Another Frenchman evolved a comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages earlier than Caldwell and his name was Milliett.

A few Frenchmen even wrote in Tamil. Meditations on God and the Realities were prepared for every day of the week by the French Jesuit, De Rossi of the Madura Mission and thus were published seven volumes pertaining to the seven days of the week. They are currently in use among the Christians in South India. A perusal of these volumes will give one an idea of the vast distances covered by the French in learning our language. This work was acomplished round the year 1770. In the last century a few French Jesuits in Trichinopoly tried their hand again in Tamil and produced excellent reading on monthly devotions. The names of St. Cyr and Marie-Barthe,. who later became the Bishop of Trichinopoly, are most noteworthy in this connection. Their works have undergone many editions and to-day wherever a Catholic Church relieves the dull monotony of the place one is sure to find copies of these books written by these men. These works while forming part of the religious literature of the period in Sounth India also well illustrate the knowledge the French in India possessed of the difficulties and needs of the people. As it has been truly said, "it would be difficult to find in any language a body of instruction more simple and more complete." Their style is chaste, explanatory and never dull always keeping with the mode of the country and the language in which they wrote.

Of purely secular works connected with Tamil which the French wrote in the last century the works of the School of Oriental Languages founded in Paris in 1821 must be particularly mentioned. Under its auspices Julien Winson wrote a Grammar of Tamil and a book of Tamil studies; Ariel collected many Tamil Mss. and translated a part of *Tirukural* and Avvaiyar's works. Male wrote an introduction to Tamil and a few papers on subjects like "The Wavana in Tamil literature", the "Sandhi in Tamil Grammar" etc. Lastly Dr. Filliozat, who is at present the Director of the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry, is to be remembered for the great interest he has taken in Tamil literature and the articles he has contributed on the subject to many Journals in India.

It is surprising to what great extent French has influenced South Indian languages in recent times. Dr. George of the Sahitya

Academy, Madras says that the very style of Malayalam has changed under French influence. In Tamil many French works have been adapted or translated into Tamil. Three works of Emille Zola, two volumes of Moliére and three volumes of Romain Rolland have been translated into Tamil. Victor Hugo with his *Le Miserables* has attracted perhaps the greatest attention of South India. Years ago the great Tamil novelist Vidwan Duraiswamy Iyengar adapted this work in his novel entitled *Kanakāmbujam* published in 1923. Latterly the much better read *Elaipadumpādu* was adapted from the work and was also screened. The Kannadigas have translated this work into Canarese under the caption. *Nonthavālvu,* while the Malayalese have adapted this work in their language under the title, *Pāvangal.* In the same way Moliére's well-known drama, the *Miser* has been translated into Malayalam as *Lupthan* and as *Lubhagresaradu* in Telugu. Dumas and his *Three Musketeers* have inspired Kalki into writing his *Ponniyin selvan* and Dr. Card's *Postman* has inspired Ka Na Subramaniyan to write his *Thapalkāran.* Henry Gide's *Strait is the Gate* has been done into Tamil by the same writer under the title *Kurugiyapāthai.* Anatole France's work *Kais* has been translated into Tamil by Suddhananta Bharati under the ingenious caption, *Thāśiyum thapaśiyum.*

Some may be inclined to ask to how these French writings in Tamil and the various translations and adaptations helped the change in the general culture of the people of South India. There is no doubt that all these works helped to expand the horizon of the South Indian writer and make him alive to French ideas and thoughts and through him influenced the life and thought of the South Indians themselves. Nay more; the interest shown by a foreigner like the Frenchmen in their language and culture made many people in South India get interested in their own language. Writers like Nyniappa Mudaliar of Madras and Muthuswamy Pillai of Pondicherry rose to prominence during this period and may he considered without exaggeration as the products of what we may call "the French age in Tamil culture". The latter's biography of Beschi still holds the field as the very best written on the subject in Tamil.

Of all the European who had come into India and influenced her culture the French had perhaps the greatest opportunity to move with the masses of the people. They were the preachers of brotherhood and equality in Europe and had faithfully carried it out here into India. They entered into the social life of the country with little difficulty and by their own behaviour helped it to change. That is the reason why we find in Pondichery social life largely divested of its Eastern trappings and colour. On going there one finds Hindu names written and pronounced in slight French style. Even the common caste name *Pillai* assumes a French garb as *Pullai.*

III

The greatest single influence on the social side came from the host of French missionaries who left Paris to India and particularly the Carnatic from the close of the XVII century. They came to preach the Gospel of Christ, it is no doubt true, but in the course of their mission they had done a great deal to change the social face of the country. It has been calculated that more than 1200 apostles of this type have reached, lived and died in South India during the last two hundred years. What a great influence they cast on our social conditions only those who have really felt their impact can understand. Others could atleast imagine what this should have been when they bring into their view the zeal with which the Missionaries were consecrated. If we believe that the various cultural missions that we send out abroad do create an influence in the countries to which they are sent, it is easily understandable what effect the large number of French Missionaries in India must have produced.

The Indian converts to Christianity solely due to French endeavour in South India alone number more than a million. In many cases they converted whole villages to their religion and thus fully transformed them. Besides this they have caused many thousands of South Indians come under their influence in the various schools and colleges which they have founded. Atleast five colleges in South India, which flourish in Madras, Trichinopoly, Palamcottah, Bangalore and Mysore, and at least fifty High schools and hundreds of Elementary schools, convents, orphanages, and Industrial schools owe their existence to these French missionaries. Their successors inspired by their example have built an equal number of educational institutions in this part of the country. What an amount of social influence all this must have released can only be imagined.

Far back in the XVIII century Fr. Tachard from Pondicherry speaks of the school of Pilotage in which training was given to boys who had a flair for the sea. From this time onwards this civilising influence of the French missionary has always been on the increase. As Kaye, the well-known author of *Christianity in India,* writes, it would require a volume all to itself to describe the service of the missionaries to India. It may be said that there is no special virtue in teaching certain subjects according to a given syllabus prepared by the University or the Government. But it must be remebered that these missionaries not merely instructed but educated those brought under their charge in what they thought the right way of life. What was merely a temporal fulfilment of duty was to them a spiritual obligation and that made a world of difference.

Ever since St. Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the Jesuits, established what he called "the necessary evil", the Boarding school system, the missionaries took it up and all over South India we had the sight of boys and girls going not merely to study but to stay under their care. This they did for six, seven and even ten years as in the ancient 'gurukula', which the genius of our country discovered and it was left to the French missionaries to revive.

IV

Before we end a word must be said about great French writers, who, like the missionaries, identified themselves with India. Count Gobineau, Rene Guenon and Romain Rolland are some names that one should not forget in this connection. The first two identified themselves with the Indian love of equality and love of tradition. But it was left to the third to understand really our spiritual and national aspirations and express himself so beautifully as he has done in the four great Indian biographies for which he has become justly famous. Of his own choice he became the biographer of Ramakrishna Paramamsa, Swami Vivekananda. Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. His influence in kindling our national feeling was very great. It was his desire to discover the unknown as much as his love for India which made him write these wonderful works as though drawn to him by some intuition. Rolland's achievement was indeed in the nature of a voyage of discovery or climbing the snow-covered peaks of a high mountain. After achieving his end he became the unalterable champion of Indian thought and culture. To have an idea of this champion and what he felt towards us just a passage from his *Life of Vivekananda* may be quoted:

> "He (Ramakrishna) had realised cosmic joy more fully than our tragic heroes. Joy appeared to Beethoven only as a gleam of blue through the chaos of conflicting clouds, while the Paramahamsa—the Indian swan—rested its great white wings on the sapphire lake of eternity beyond the veil of tumultuous days."[3]

113100

---

[3] Rolland, *Life of Vivekananda*, 4.